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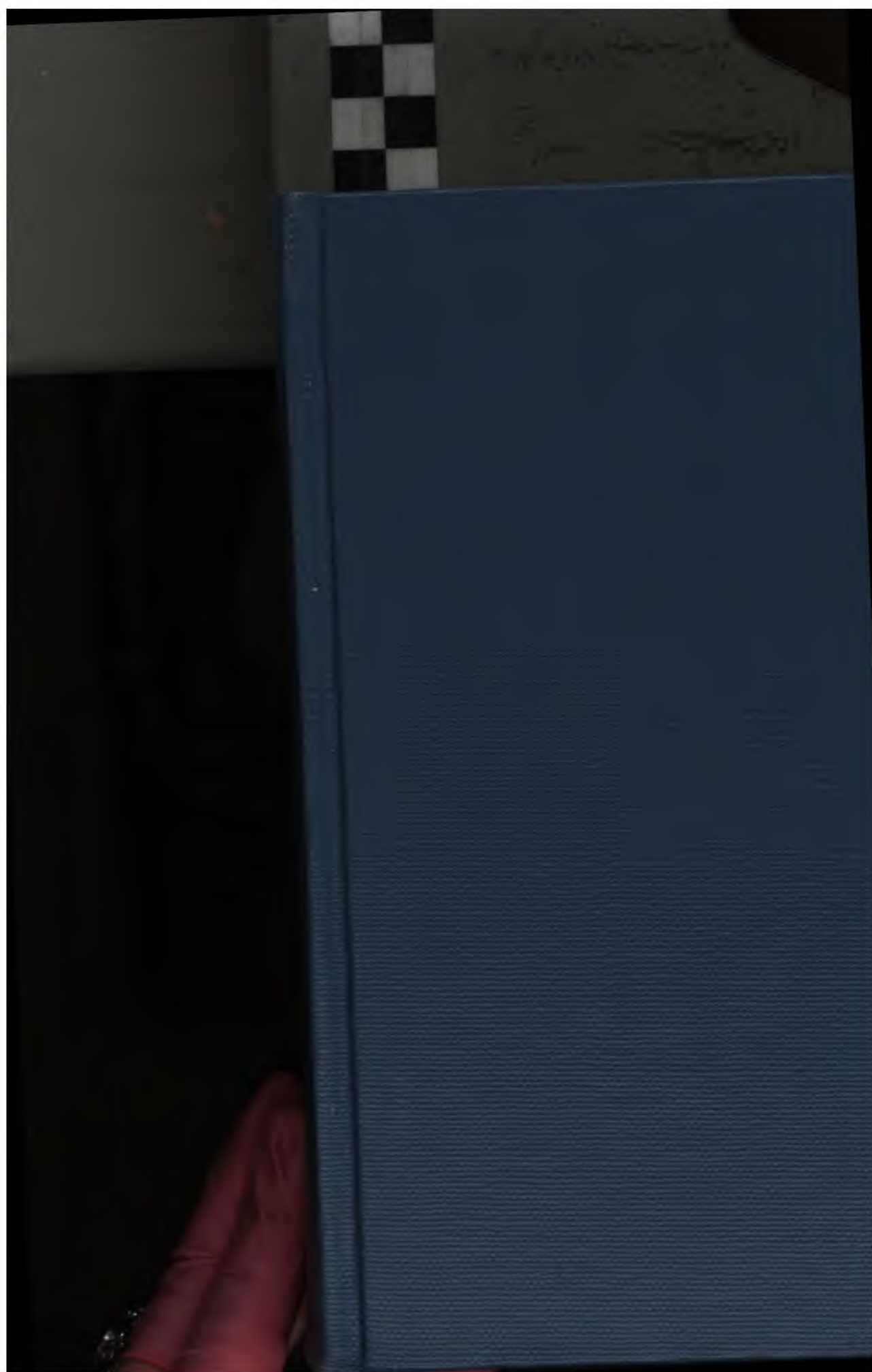
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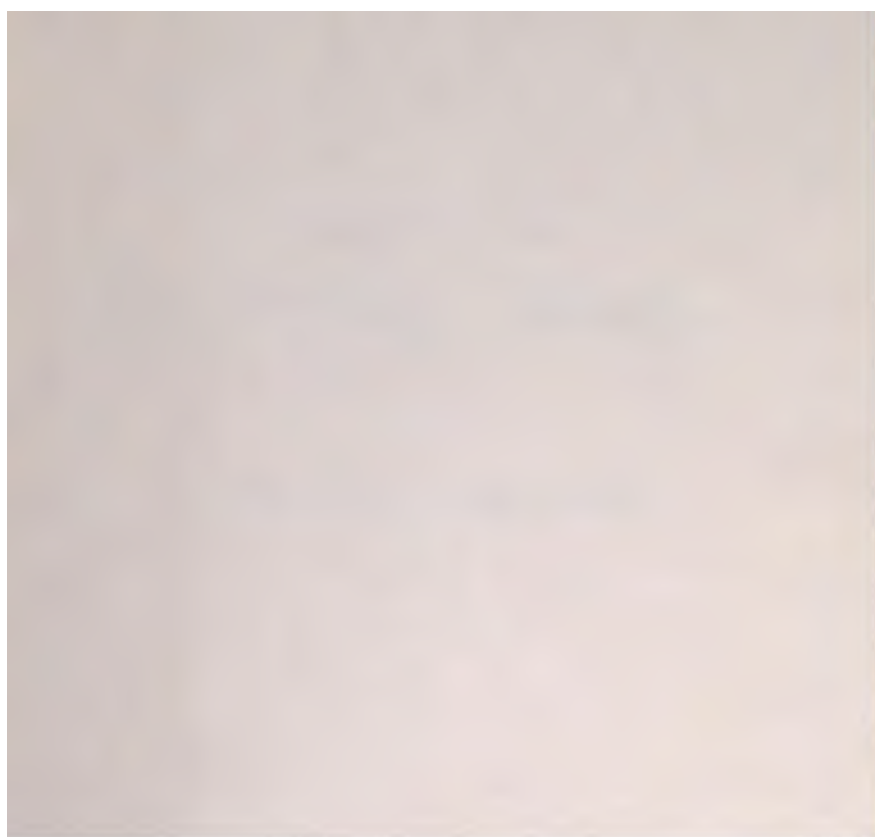


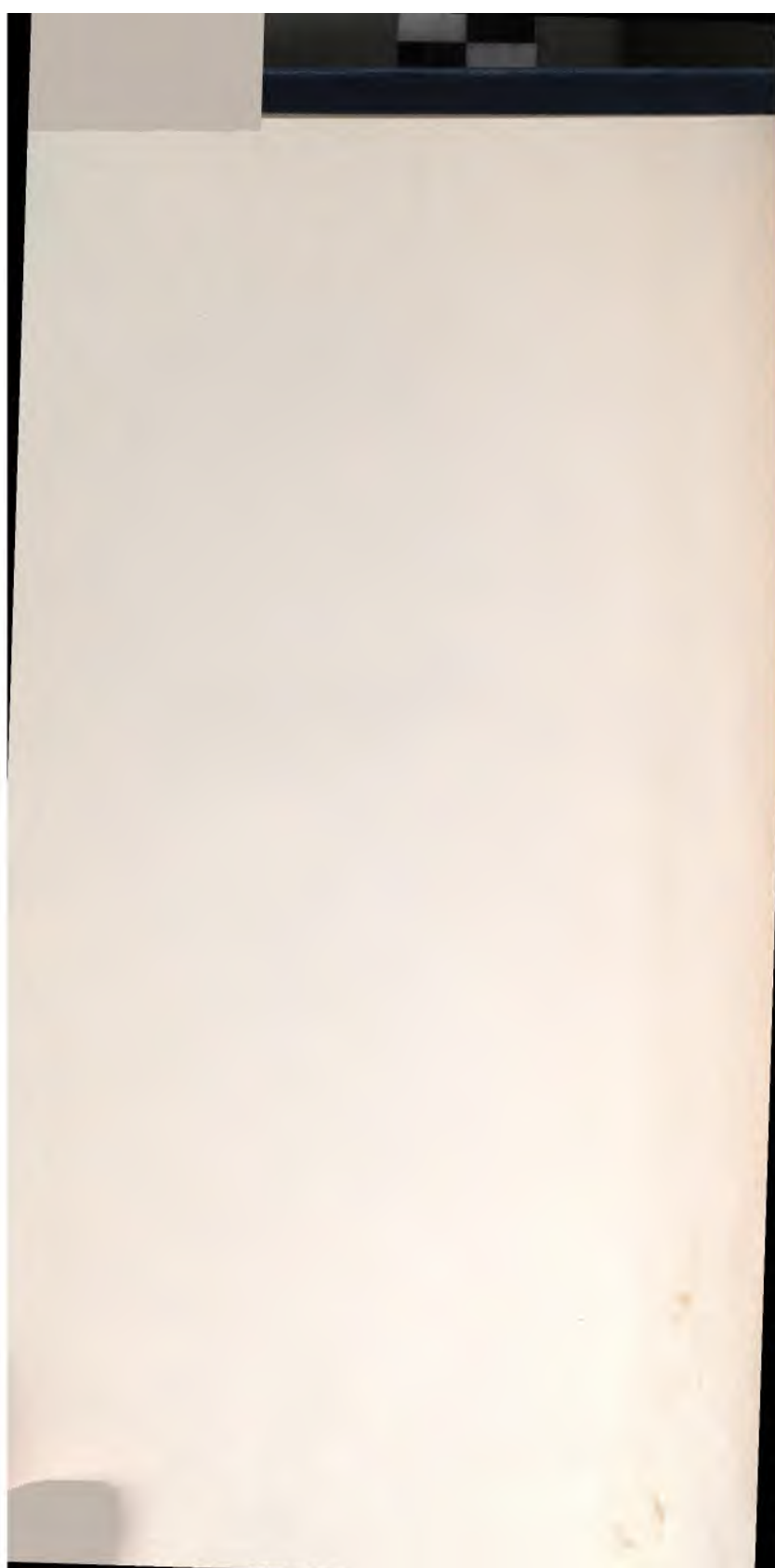












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THE HAWKINS' VOYAGES.

ETC.

No. LVII.



2020



SIR JOHN HAWKINS K<sup>T</sup>.

FROM A BASSO RELIEVO IVORY BUST IN POSSESSION  
OF THE REV<sup>D</sup> BRADFORD DEAN HAWKINS.

*John Hawkins*

(AUTOGRAPH FROM A FACSIMILE IN THE ARCHÆOLOGIA, Vol. XXXIII.)



THE  
HAWKINS' VOYAGES

DURING  
THE REIGNS  
OF  
HENRY VIII, QUEEN ELIZABETH,  
AND JAMES I.

Edited, with an Introduction,  
BY  
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S.

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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## PREFACE

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in his Voyage into the South Sea* was the first volume issued by the Hakluyt Society, in 1847. It was edited by Admiral C. R. Drinkwater Bethune, C.B.; and most of his valuable foot-notes in the first edition have been retained, especially those explaining old sea terms and Spanish phrases. Some of the Admiral's notes have been omitted as having become obsolete, or from other considerations. As the first edition is now out of print, it has become necessary to reproduce it. The Council decided that the present volume should be made more complete, by including the narratives of the voyages of Sir Richard's grandfather William, of his father Sir John, and of his cousin William Hawkins. It is, therefore, intended to be a monograph of the naval enterprises of the great Elizabethan navigators of the name of Hawkins.

The first of that name made three voyages to Brazil in the time of Henry VIII, and was one of our earliest naval pioneers. The second was closely connected with the history of our navy, both as a gallant commander at sea and as an able administrator on shore, during upwards of thirty eventful years. The third was a worthy emulator of his father's fame ; while the fourth



is among the first founders of the success of the East India Company.

The cradle of the naval Hawkinses was certainly in Devonshire,<sup>1</sup> the county of Drake and Oxenham, of Grenville and Davis, of Raleigh and Gilbert, and of so many other Elizabethan naval worthies. In the reign of Henry VII, John Hawkins and his wife Joan, daughter of William Amydas of Launceston, were living at Tavistock, and their son William Hawkins is the first of the three generations of famous seamen.<sup>2</sup>

We owe our slight knowledge of the first WILLIAM HAWKINS to the research of Hakluyt. He tells us that old Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth was a man of wisdom, valour, experience, and skill in sea causes, and that he was much esteemed and beloved by King Henry VIII. He was one of the principal sea captains in the west of England in his time, and made three adventurous voyages to the coast of Brazil, an account

<sup>1</sup> The name of Hawkins, it has been suggested, may be derived from Hawking, in the hundred of Folkestone. There was an Osbert de Hawking in the reign of Henry II, from whom descended Andrew Hawkins of Nash Court, near Faversham, in the time of Edward III, according to one statement. Another account derives Andrew Hawkins from Holderness, and marries him to Joan de Nash, an heiress. A family of Hawkins of Nash Court, flourished there until the end of the last century. (See *Halsted's Kent*, iii, p. 4.)

But Hawkins is a common name, and it is more probably derived from the Dutch Huygen; in common with Hodge, Hodgson, Hodgkinson, Hoskins, Huggins, Hoggins, Hewson, and the like.

<sup>2</sup> The Hawkins ancestry is given by Prince in his *Worthies of Devon*, p. 472, who had it from William Harvey, Clarencieux; entry of 1565, when the arms were granted to John Hawkins.

of two of which, taken from Hakluyt, will be found at pages 3 and 4 of the present volume. William Hawkins married Joan, daughter of William Trelawney, and had two sons, John and William, who entered upon the sea service with great advantages, owing to the wealth and experience of their father.

The date of the birth of JOHN HAWKINS is not certain, but the inscription on his monument, formerly in the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, gives his age at the time of his death in 1595, as "six times ten and three". If this is correct, he was born in 1532.<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt tells us that he made divers voyages to the Canary Islands in his youth, where he obtained much information respecting the trade with the West Indies. He heard, among other things, that there was a great demand for negroes at St. Domingo, and that they could easily be obtained from the coast of Guinea. He resolved to make trial of this trade, and, having communicated his plan to several influential friends in London, he received liberal support. Among those who were adventurers for this voyage, was Mr. Benjamin Gonson, of Sebright Hall, near Chelmsford, and Treasurer of the Navy, who, probably before the ship sailed, became the father-in-law of the gallant young commander of the expedition.

John Hawkins, when he undertook the voyage in 1562, was in about his thirtieth year; and he was then married to Katharine Gonson,<sup>2</sup> daughter of

<sup>1</sup> 1520 is the date usually given, but on no authority.

<sup>2</sup> William Gonson was Treasurer of the Navy in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. He bought Sebright Hall,

# JOHN HAWKINS

THE TREASURY OF THE NAVY. BY JAMES H. BELL. A NEW EDITION.

THE HISTORY OF JOHN HAWKINS, COMMANDER OF THE FIRST ENGLISH VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES, IN 1592, WHICH HE SENT TO THE KING IN COMPLIMENT OF HIS SECOND IN COMMAND. CAPTAIN HAWKINS WAS COMMISSIONED. AS THERE WAS ALSO SENT TO THE KING BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, THAT IN ENGLISH THERE WAS IT IS ALLOWED TO BE THE FIRST IN THE WORLD. THE ACCOUNT OF THIS VOYAGE, TAKEN FROM HAWKINS' WILL BE FOUND FROM PAGES 5 TO 7 OF THE PRESENT VOLUME. HAWKINS DEPARTED IN SEPTEMBER 1592.

NO OTHER VOYAGES IN THE HISTORY OF JOHN HAWKINS IN UNDERSTANDING A VOYAGE WHICH IN THE WORLD IN THOSE DAYS WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS BEING AS BENEFICIAL. IT WAS IN 1592 THAT CHARLES I. ISSUED SUCH ORDERS FOR THE IMPORTATION OF NEGROES INTO THE WEST INDIES, AND IN 1591 A LICENSE FOR IMPORTING 10,000 NEGROES WAS GRANTED FOR SALE. THE MEASURE WAS ADOPTED FROM

IN THE JOURNAL OF GREAT BRITAIN, near Chelmsford. His son Benjamin Gonsou, of St. George Hall, was also Treasurer of the Navy from 1594 to 1597, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law, John Hawkins. He died on November 21st, 1597, leaving a son, Benjamin, born in 1551, and a daughter, Katherine, the first wife of Sir John Hawkins. This second Benjamin Gonsou left only two daughters, co-heiresses. One of them, Anne, married John Evelyn. Another, Thomasine, was the wife of Christopher Browne of Sayes Court, son of Sir Richard Browne, Clerk of the Green Cloth to Queen Elizabeth, who died, aged 70, in 1645. There was, Sir Richard Browne of Sayes Court (Deptford), died in 1623, aged 72, leaving an only daughter, Mary, the wife of John Evelyn, F.R.S., the author of *Sylva*. Evelyn lived at it from 1652 till 1686.

philanthropic motives, and was intended to preserve the Indians. It was looked upon as prudent and humane, even if it involved some suffering on the part of a far inferior race. The English were particularly eager to enter upon the slave trade, and by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England at length obtained the *asiento*, giving her the exclusive right to carry on the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish Indies for thirty years. So strong was the party in favour of this trade in England, that the contest for its abolition was continued for forty-eight years, from 1759 to 1807. It is not, therefore, John Hawkins alone who can justly be blamed for the slave trade, but the whole English people during 250 years, who must all divide the blame with him.

John Hawkins sailed on his second voyage in 1564, in the good ship *Jesus of Lubeck*, of 700 tons, returning in the autumn of the following year. He was accompanied by several gentlemen adventurers, and one of them, named John Sparke, wrote the narrative published by Hakluyt. It will be found from pages 8 to 64 of the present volume, and is followed by an account of the succour given by Hawkins to a distressed French colony in Florida, which Hakluyt translated from the French work of M. Laudonnière, printed in Paris in 1586.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sparke is somewhat diffuse,

<sup>1</sup> See pages 65 to 69. When Hakluyt was Chaplain to the English Embassy in Paris, he discovered a manuscript account of Florida, and published it at his own expense in 1586. It is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. The attention this book excited in France encouraged Hakluyt to translate it, and the English ver-



but he gives many interesting details respecting the various places, in Africa and the West Indies, that were touched at, including a full account of Florida.

The third voyage was undertaken in 1567, and had a most disastrous termination. It was on this occasion that Hawkins and Francis Drake first served together. Drake is called the kinsman of Hawkins by his biographers, and he certainly appears to have been born in a cottage on the banks of the Tavy, while the Hawkinses came originally from Tavistock, so that the two families were near neighbours. Francis was about ten years younger than Hawkins. His father was persecuted under the Six Articles Act, and fled into Kent, where he became the vicar of Upnor, and the son served his apprenticeship in the Medway, and in short voyages to Zeeland. But young Francis, as soon as he had the means, returned to his native county, and had made at least one voyage (with Captain Lovell in 1565-66) to the West Indies before he joined the expedition of Hawkins. The latter commanded his old ship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, while Drake was in a little

sion was published in London in 1587. The title is: "A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French capitaines into Florida, wherein the great riches and fruitefulness of the countrey, with the manners of the people, hitherto concealed, are brought to light; written, all saving the last, by Monsieur Laudonnière, who remained there himself, as the French King's Lieutenant, a yere and a quarter; newly translated out of the French into English by R. H." (London, 1587, 4to.)

The portion relating to Hawkins was inserted by Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations*, following Hawkins's second voyage. It is this portion which is reprinted in the present volume.

vessel called the *Judith* (of 50 tons). The sad story of this voyage, as given in Hakluyt, was written by John Hawkins himself, and will be found from pages 70 to 81 of the present volume. After the treacherous attack of the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulloa, two vessels only escaped, the *Minion*, with Hawkins on board, and the *Judith*;<sup>1</sup> but there was not sufficient food for so large a number of men crowded into two small vessels, and their case seemed almost hopeless. At length half the number, a hundred out of two hundred, volunteered to land on the coast of Mexico, so as to save the rest. They were put on shore, and their more fortunate comrades, after suffering great hardships, arrived in England on January 25th, 1568.<sup>2</sup>

It is remarkable that Hawkins never mentions Drake's name throughout his narrative. His letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil,<sup>3</sup> describing his misfortunes, is dated on the day of his landing in Mounts Bay.

The fate of the unfortunate men who were put on shore in Mexico was most cruel. They were sent to the capital, and were at first treated with humanity. But in 1571 a tribunal of the Inquisition was established in Mexico, the English castaways were seized and shockingly maltreated, and several tortured and most inhumanly mutilated. Some were burnt, and a few were sent to Spain, and left to die of hunger in

<sup>1</sup> See page 78.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of tobacco into England after this voyage is attributed to Hawkins by Stow, and also by John Taylor, the Water Poet, in his *Prosaical Postscript* to the *Old old, very old man*, etc. (4to., 1635).

<sup>3</sup> Given by Barrow, in his *Life of Sir Francis Drake*, p. 10.



the Archbishop of Seville's dungeons. Three escaped, and the tale of their wrongs excited the utmost indignation throughout England. The narratives of these survivors, David Ingram, Job Hartop, and Miles Philips, are given by Hakluyt;<sup>1</sup> and no one who peruses them can be surprised at the hatred of the English against the Spaniards in those days. John Hawkins was extremely anxious about the fate of his unhappy men, and when tidings of their treatment began to reach England he sought every means to be revenged upon the Spanish nation. He intended to go out in search of his men, but was prevented. He then determined to try what cunning would do, apparently deeming intrigue and deceit to be justifiable against such a foe.

But there never was a more absurd calumny than that promulgated by Dr. Lingard and others, to the effect that Hawkins consented to betray his country for a bribe from Spain. Lingard<sup>2</sup> refers us to an agreement made at Madrid on August 10th, 1571, between the Duke of Feria,<sup>3</sup> on the part of Philip II, and George Fitzwilliam on the part of John Hawkins, by

<sup>1</sup> *Principal Navigations*, pp. 557 to 560. Philips reached England in 1582, and Hartop not until 1590.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, v, p. 481 (n).

<sup>3</sup> Gomez Suarez de Figueroa y Cordova, fifteenth Conde de Feria, was created Duke of Feria in 1567. He was envoy in England when Queen Mary died, and married her maid of honour, Jane, daughter of Sir William Dormer, by Mary, sister of Sir Henry, and aunt of Sir Philip Sydney. He died at the Escorial, on Friday, September 7, 1571, less than a month after the signature of the above imaginary document. His son, born in 1559, succeeded as second Duke.



which the latter was to transfer his services to Spain, bringing with him sixteen of the Queen's ships fully equipped with 420 guns, in consideration of an amnesty for past offences, and monthly pay of 16,987 ducats. This pretended agreement may be found in the Spanish Archives. The calumny lies in Dr. Lingard's conclusion from it, and in his additional statements which are as follows. "The secret was carefully kept, but did not elude suspicion. Hawkins was summoned, and examined by order of the Council. Their lordships were, or pretended to be, satisfied, and he was engaged in the Queen's service." Lingard adds that Hawkins tendered hostages to Spain for his fidelity. All these supplementary statements are untrue. The simple fact was that Hawkins was trying to deceive and entrap the Spaniards, with the full knowledge and approval of the English Government from the first. This is proved beyond doubt by Cecil's correspondence. It was not very clean work and it ended in failure, but it is false that Hawkins was ever untrue to his country. A more loyal and devoted subject never lived. His whole life was one of zealous devotion to the service of his Queen.<sup>1</sup> His Spanish intrigue was

<sup>1</sup> Lingard quotes, as his authority for the above calumny, *Gonzalez*, 116, *Memorias*, vii, 351, 360, 364, 367, 368, a formidable array !

These references are calculated to confuse the reader, sometimes being given as "*Memorias*", then as "*Gonzalez*", in another place "*From the documents at Simancas*". On the return of Ferdinand VII, in 1815, the archives were entrusted to Don Tomas Gonzalez, who restored them to order at Simancas. In the seventh volume of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* (4to., Madrid,

undertaken with the object of rescuing his unfortunate men by a resort to guile, as he could not do so by force. Their miserable condition must have haunted him, and

1832) was published a contribution entitled, "*Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España por lo tocante a sus relaciones con la Reina Isabel de Inglaterra desde el año 1558 hasta el de 1576*, por Tomas Gonzalez, Canonigo de Placencia." There is an English version: "Documents from Simancas relating to the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1568), translated from the Spanish of Don Tomas Gonzalez, and edited by G. Spencer Hall, F.S.A., Librarian to the Athenæum (1865)."

It is to the *Apuntamientos* of Gonzalez that Lingard alone refers. As for his reference at p. 351 there is no mention of Hawkins there. At p. 357 there is a statement that "Achins" had solicited to be allowed to enter Philip's service, offering to make great discoveries; that he sent Fitzwilliam to the King to offer to re-establish the Catholic religion in England, and that Philip received the proposals well, but required details as to the mode and form of executing them. At p. 360 it is stated that Fitzwilliam, having reported this reply, returned to Spain with assurances of promptitude from "Achins" and other disaffected persons. At p. 364 is the detailed agreement between the Duke of Feria and Fitzwilliam on the part of "Achins". At p. 367 there is nothing about Hawkins. At p. 368 an interview is reported between Don Gueran de Espés, the Spanish Ambassador in England, and John Hawkins.

The whole of Lingard's portentous mare's nest, built out of these Spanish references, is exploded by Cecil's correspondence, which proves that Hawkins was fooling the Spaniards, with the full knowledge and approval of the English Government. The aim of Hawkins was to obtain the release of the prisoners. Cecil's object was to unravel Spanish plots.

It was with Cecil's secret permission that Hawkins sent Fitzwilliam to Spain, and that he himself had an interview with Don Gueran de Espés, the Spanish Ambassador. See Froude's *History of England*, x, cap. xxi, pp. 259-270. The letters of Hawkins to Lord Burleigh at p. 264 (n.) and p. 269, finally dispose of Lingard's accusation.

he felt that any means that offered a chance of liberating them was justifiable.

After his three voyages, John Hawkins justly stood high with the Government, as a resolute and experienced sea captain. In 1565 a coat of arms was granted to him, with an augmentation in August 1571.<sup>1</sup>



ARMS.—*Sable*, on a point wavy a lion passant *or*. In chief 3 bezants. Augmentation : on a canton *or* an e-callop between two palmer's staves *sable*.

CREST.—Upon a wreath *argent* and *azure* a demi-Moor proper bound and captive, with amulets on his arms and ears *or*.

In 1573 Hawkins succeeded his father-in-law as Treasurer of the Navy, and commenced a useful, but very anxious and laborious administrative career on shore. But he still occasionally served afloat. In 1570

<sup>1</sup> The grant in 1565 was by William Harvey, Clarencieux. The augmentation was granted by Robert Cook, Clarencieux, in 1571.

his son tells us that he was Admiral of the fleet of Queen's ships then riding in Catwater, and that he fired upon a Spanish ship for not lowering her topsails.<sup>1</sup> In a letter dated February 23rd, 1573, from Charles IX to La Motte Fénélon, a complaint is made against "Haquin" (Hawkins) for being joined with certain French rebels in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight, to the number of twelve or thirteen ships, with which they carried munitions and provisions from England to Rochelle.<sup>2</sup>

The civil employments of John Hawkins must, however, have absorbed most of his time. Besides the Treasurership of the Navy, he was also Treasurer of the Queen's Majesty's Marine Causes, and in the same year he succeeded Mr. Holstock as Comptroller of the Navy. He was a keen reformer of dockyard abuses, and Sir William Monson says that he introduced more useful inventions and better regulations into the navy than any of his predecessors. Stow tells us that Hawkins was the first that invented the cunning stratagem of sail nettings for ships in fighting, and he also devised chain pumps for ships.

In 1581 he had a severe illness,<sup>3</sup> but he had recovered

<sup>1</sup> See p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> But this may refer to his brother, William Hawkins.

<sup>3</sup> On October 30, 1581, he wrote to T. Smythe that he would be glad to join in Sir Francis Drake's enterprise, but was hardly able to overcome the debt he owes Her Majesty, and keep his credit. His sickness, too, continually abides with him, and every second day he has a fit. More like to provide for his grave than to encumber himself with worldly matters. *E. I. Colonial*, 1513-1616, p. 68.

in 1583, when we find him busily engaged making investigations for the reduction of the expenses of the navy, and encountering much opposition. For fifteen months the officers at Chatham took "hardness and courage to oppose themselves against him", yet he there made a saving of over £3,200, while adding to the efficiency of the fleet. His correspondence with Sir Julius Cæsar, the Judge of the Admiralty, shows that he paid close attention to all branches of naval expenditure, detecting and putting a stop to many abuses. This good service naturally made him enemies. Mr. Borowe, who was ousted, "made a book against him", and in 1583 there were articles drawn up "against the injuste mind and deceitful dealings of John Hawkins".<sup>1</sup> Among those whom he found out conniving at abuses were Sir William Winter and the Master Shipwright Baker, who of course became his bitter enemies, and he had a controversy with Mr. Peter Pett, the shipwright, touching his accounts. Winter wrote—"When he was hurte in the Strande and made his will he was not able to give £500. All that he is now worth hath byn drawne by deceipte from her Majesty." These calumnies received no credit, and Hawkins never lost the confidence of his Government.

In 1584 we find him consulting with Peter Pett as to a project for improving Dover harbour. In December 1585 he submitted books to Lord Burleigh with lists of her Majesty's ships, their tonnage, and estimates for outfit; and he represented the expediency of increasing the seamen's pay. He also sent in a state-

<sup>1</sup> *Lansdowne MSS.*, vol. lii, cap. 43, fol. 109.

ment of the management of the navy from 1568 to 1579, with his scheme for its future government by commissioners.

During all these years of active civil employment John Hawkins lived in a house in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, with his office at Deptford. He lost his first wife, the mother of his son, when she was only thirty-two years of age, and married secondly Margaret, daughter of Charles Vaughan, Esq., of Hergest House, Herefordshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir F. Baskerville. This lady was bed-chamber woman to the Queen.

In 1587 the intention of Spain to invade England was manifest, and a Council consisting of Lord Charles Howard, Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher, got the English fleet in readiness to meet its formidable adversary. Hawkins was appointed Vice-Admiral, hoisting his flag on board the *Victory*; and after the dispersion of the Spanish Armada he received the honour of knighthood. Then came the anxious and troublesome business of paying off the fleet. "I pray God", he wrote to Burleigh, "I may end this account to her Majesty's and your Lordship's liking, and avoyd myne owne undoing, and I trust God will so provyde for me as I shall never meddell with soche intrycate matters more." In 1590 he got away to sea again, in a fleet commanded by himself and Sir Martin Frobisher, with orders to do all possible mischief on the coast of Spain. But the Plate fleet was warned in time, and remained in the Indies. None of the enemy's ships appeared, and the expedition came back without any results.

Sir John Hawkins, on his return, reminded Elizabeth that "Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase." "God's death!" exclaimed the Queen, "this fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine!"

In the year 1588 Sir John, aided by Drake, instituted a fund for maimed and worn out mariners, which was long known as the "chest at Chatham". This fund was the forerunner of Greenwich Hospital. Thus actively and laboriously employed, on shore and afloat, Sir John Hawkins became grey in the service of his country. Edmund Spenser, when he drew likenesses of the chief sea captains of England, in his "*Colin Clout's come home again*", speaks of old Hawkins as Proteus, "with hoary head and dewy dropping beard". His end was heroic. In 1593 he had, with some difficulty, obtained a commission for his dearly loved son Richard,<sup>1</sup> when he set out on his adventurous voyage to the South Sea in the good ship *Dainty*. Then came the sad news that his boy was a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards.

There can be no doubt that old Sir John undertook his last fatal voyage with a broken heart, in the faint hope of rescuing his son.

An expedition was decided upon to sail for the West Indies under the command of Sir John Hawkins and

<sup>1</sup> Oct. 1593. "Commission to Richard Hawkins to attempt some enterprise with a ship, bark, and pinnace, against the King of Spain, upon the coasts of the West Indies, Brazil, Africa, America, or the South Seas, reserving to the Crown one-fifth of treasure, jewels, or pearls." *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic.* 1591-94, p. 276.



Sir Francis Drake, in 1595. The Queen furnished five ships, but she drove a hard bargain with her old Treasurer of the Navy. She was to have a third of the booty, and Sir John was to victual the fleet at his own charge. He did his part well, being, as Sir T. Gorges reported from Plymouth to Robert Cecil, "an excellent man in those things, and sees all things done orderly." Nombre de Dios was the destination of the fleet, but Hawkins died at sea, off Puerto Rico, on the 21st of November 1595.<sup>1</sup>

So ended the life of Sir John Hawkins, one of the best of Elizabeth's great sea captains, and the terror of the Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> He was a thorough seaman, and an able and upright administrator; endowed with great courage and unfailing presence of mind; "merciful," says Maynarde, "and apt to forgive, and faithful to his word". Stow, in his *Chronicle*, speaks of him as a very wise, vigilant, and true-hearted man.

On July 9th, 1596, the disbursements of Sir John Hawkins in his last voyage, were delivered by Robert Langford, Deputy Treasurer, in the name of his widow Margeret Hawkins, at £18,661, which was declared to be not more than his third part. His watery grave was far away within the tropics, but a handsome tomb to his memory was erected on the north side of the chancel of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East,<sup>3</sup> which was his place of

<sup>1</sup> Drake also died during this disastrous voyage, on the 28th of January 1596.

<sup>2</sup> They called him "Juan Achines".

<sup>3</sup> Destroyed in the great fire. The present church was built by Sir Christopher Wren; and the tomb has disappeared.

worship during many years. It bore the following inscription—

“Johaunes Hawkins, Eques Auratus, clariss. Reginae  
Marinarum causarum Thesaurarius. Qui cum XLIII  
annos muniis bellicis et longis periculosisque naviga-  
tionibus, detegendis novis regionibus, ad Patriæ utili-  
tatem, et suam ipsius gloriam, strenuam et egregiam  
operam navasset, in expeditione, cui Generalis præfuit  
ad Indiam occidentalem dum in anchoris ad portum  
S. Joannis in insula Beriquena staret, placide in Domino  
ad cœlestem patriam emigravit, 12 die Novembris anno  
salutis 1595. In cujus memoriam ob virtutem et res  
gestas Domina Margareta Hawkins, Uxor mœstissima,  
hoc monumentum cum lachrymis posuit.”

His widow survived until 1621. Stow tells us<sup>1</sup> that  
she hung a “fair table” by the tomb, fastened in the  
wall, with these verses in English :—

“ Dame Margaret,  
A widow well affected,  
This monument  
Of memory erected,  
Deciphering  
Unto the viewer’s sight  
The life and death  
Of Sir John Hawkins, *Knight*,  
One fearing God  
And loyal to his Queen,  
True to the State  
By trial ever seen,  
Kind to his wives,  
Both gentlewomen born,  
Whose counterfeits  
With grace this work adorn.

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of London*, vol. i, lib. ii, p. 45 (ed. 1720).

Dame Katharine,  
The first, of rare report,  
Dame Margaret  
The last, of Court consort,  
Attendant on  
The chamber and the bed  
Of England's Queen  
Elizabeth, our head  
Next unto Christ,  
Of whom all princes hold  
Their scepters, States,  
And diadems of gold.  
Free to their friends  
On either side his kin  
Careful to keep  
The credit he was in.  
Unto the seamen  
Beneficial,  
As testifieth  
Chatham Hospital.  
The poor of Plymouth  
And of Deptford town  
Have had, now have,  
And shall have, many a crown.  
Proceeding from  
His liberality  
By way of great  
And gracious legacy,  
This parish of  
St. Dunstan standing east  
(Wherein he dwelt  
Full thirty years at least)  
Hath of the springs  
Of his good will a part  
Derived from  
The fountain of his heart,  
All which bequests,

With many moe unsaid,  
Dame Margaret  
Hath bountifully paid.  
Deep of conceit,  
In speaking grave and wise,  
Endighting swift  
And pregnant to devise,  
In conference  
Revealing haughty skill  
In all affairs ;  
Having a worthie's will  
On sea and land,  
Spending his course and time  
By steps of years  
As he to age did climb.  
God hath his soul,  
The sea his body keeps,  
Where (for a while)  
As Jonas now he sleeps ;  
Till He which said  
To Lazarus, Come forth,  
Awakes this knight,  
And gives to him his worth.  
In Christian faith  
And faithful penitence,  
In quickening hope  
And constant patience,  
He running ran  
A faithful pilgrim's race,  
God giving him  
The guiding of His grace,  
Ending his life  
With his experience  
By deep decree  
Of God's high providence.  
His years to six times  
Ten and three amounting,

The ninth the seventh  
 Climacterick by counting.  
 Dame Katharine,  
 His first religious wife,  
 Saw years thrice ten  
 And two of mortal life,  
 Leaving the world the sixth,  
 The seventh ascending.  
 Thus he and she  
 Alike their compass ending,  
 Asunder both  
 By death and flesh alone,  
 Together both in soul,  
 Two making one,  
 Among the saints above,  
 From troubles free,  
 Where two in one shall meet  
 And make up three.  
 The Christian knight  
 And his good ladies twain,  
 Flesh, soul, and spirit  
 United once again ;  
 Beholding Christ,  
 Who comfortably saith,  
 Come, mine elect,  
 Receive the crown of faith."

There is a basso-relievo ivory bust of Sir John Hawkins<sup>1</sup> in the possession of the Reverend Bradford Denne Hawkins, Rector of Rivenhall, near Witham, in Essex, who informs me that it came to his father by inheritance, from Dr. Denne, Archdeacon of Rochester and Rector of Lambeth in the last century.

I can only hear of one portrait of Sir John Hawkins. It was at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, the seat of the

<sup>1</sup> See the frontispiece to the present volume.

Lords North, and on the dismantling of the house in 1802 it was sold. In 1824 it came into the hands of a Mr. Bryant, whose brother sold it to Mr. R. S. Hawkins of Oxford in 1866. It is a portrait on panel, kit-cat size, of a man in armour, with small head, dark brown hair and yellowish beard, and the hand resting on a helmet. The face has a strong family resemblance to that of the ivory basso-relievo bust. Above the shoulder of the figure are reeds, a rock, and waves, and the following motto:—"Undis arundo vires reparat cædensque fovetur funditus at rupes en scopulosa ruit." The present owner inclines to the belief that it is a portrait of the son Sir Richard, and not of Sir John Hawkins.

The will of Sir John Hawkins was proved in December 1596.

RICHARD HAWKINS, the only son of Sir John, was brought up to a sea life from a boy, and his father's position and circumstances must have given him special advantages. For his father and uncle, the two brothers John and William, were men of considerable means, at one time owning thirty sail of good ships.<sup>2</sup> Richard was born at about the time of his father's first Guinea voyage in 1562. His mother died when she was only thirty-two, so that the boy became his father's constant companion at an early age, and his reminiscences went back to a childhood spent at Plymouth and Deptford, amongst ships and dockyards. Thus, in his *Observations*,<sup>3</sup> he calls to mind how, he being of

<sup>1</sup> Reference 26 and 50, Drake.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 806 (1631).

<sup>3</sup> P. 118.

tender years, there came a large fleet of Spaniards into Plymouth Sound, bound for Flanders to fetch Queen Anne of Austria, last wife of Phillip II.<sup>1</sup> "They entred without vaying their top-sayles or taking in of their flags; which my father Sir John Hawkins (Admiral of a fleet of her Majesties ships then ryding in Cattwater) perceiving, commanded his gunner to shoote at the flagge of the Admirall, that they might thereby see their error; which, notwithstanding, they persevered arrogantly to keepe displayed, whereupon the gunner at the next shot, lact the admiral through and through, whereby the Spaniards tooke in the flags and top-sayles, and so ranne to anchor." In this masterful school was young Richard Hawkins brought up. At the age of twenty, "being but young and more bold than experimented",<sup>2</sup> he made his first long voyage to the West Indies in 1582, with his uncle William Hawkins of Plymouth. During the voyage he displayed boldness and sagacity which showed that he had the makings of a good officer and seaman. On one occasion the captain of one of the vessels named the *Bonner* reported her to be leaky and unseaworthy, and it was arranged that the stores and provisions should be taken out of her, the men divided among the other ships, and the hull sunk or burnt. Richard suspected that the captain of the *Bonner* made the matter worse than it really was. So he volunteered, with as many men as would stand by

<sup>1</sup> This fixes the date 1570. But here is some confusion, for he mentions that Sir John's ship was the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and she was lost in 1567.

<sup>2</sup> P. 212.

him, to take her home, and his uncle consented ; but this shamed the captain, who resolved to stand by her. Thus he saved the vessel to the owners, and was commended for his resolution. During the voyage he visited the Margarita pearl fishery.<sup>1</sup>

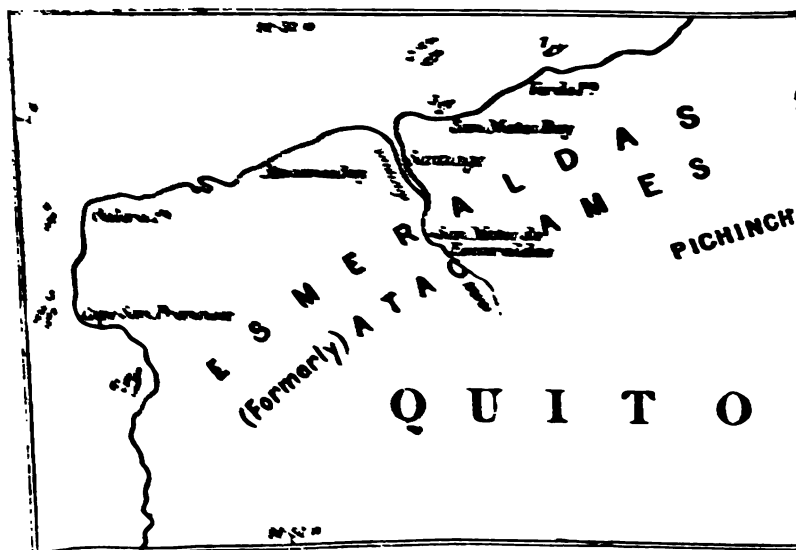
From his return in 1583 to the equipment of the fleet to withstand the Spanish Armada in 1588, Richard Hawkins was constantly employed on sea service. His father had married again, as already mentioned, to a lady of whom her step-son speaks as "religious and most virtuous and of very good understanding";<sup>2</sup> so that his home relations were probably undisturbed. In 1588 he commanded the *Swallow* in the fleet which opposed the Spanish Armada ; and in the end of the same year, with the consent and help of his father, he prepared for a voyage to China and India by way of the straits of Magellan and the South Sea, with the object of discovering and surveying unknown lands, and reporting upon their inhabitants, governments, and on the commodities they yield, and of which they are in want. With this object he caused a ship to be built in the Thames, between 300 and 400 tons, "pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sayle, and well-conditioned." His step-mother craved the naming of the ship and called her the *Repentance*. Richard often asked her reason for bestowing upon his ship so uncouth a name, but he could never get any other satisfaction than that "*Repentance* was the safest ship we could sayle in, to purchase the haven of heaven". Queen Elizabeth afterwards passed by, on her way to

<sup>1</sup> See page 314.

<sup>2</sup> See page 90.



Havins was now on the coast of the province of Quilo, a little to the north of the equator. Atacames Bay is in 1° 57' 30" N. To the left is Cape San Francisco, off which Sir Francis Drake captured his rich prize the *Conquistador* on March 1st, 1579. To the right is the mouth of the great river of Santiago, and the bay of San Mateo.



- 1.—Woodes Rogers, 34th August 1709.
- 2.—Naval Action, Hawkins and Castro, 22nd June 1594.
- 3.—Hawkins, 16th June 1594.
- 4.—Cook and Dampier, 23rd December 1688.
- 5.—Drake and the *Corqueto*, 1st March 1579.
- 6.—Dampier, etc., in Canoes, 19th April 1681.

It is a coast which was much frequented by Dampier and the buccaneers in the end of the following century. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>1</sup> Hawkins was in the Bay of San

1 He says May; but this is an obvious error. See pages 266  
and 267, and compare page 308.

Mateo. On the 17th he was about to make sail and leave the coast of South America, when the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Beltran de Castro, came round the point.<sup>1</sup> Hawkins fought a most gallant action, and did not surrender until he had received several wounds, was quite over-matched, and the ship was sinking. He also gives a most spirited and interesting account of it, interspersed with remarks on naval discipline, gunnery, and seamanship.<sup>2</sup> After three days' hard fighting the gallant young Englishman surrendered to superior force on the 22nd of June, 1594. The Spanish commander, Don Beltran de Castro, a humane and honorable man, granted quarter, and promised that Hawkins and his people should be allowed to return to their own country.<sup>3</sup> Don Beltran received young Hawkins with great courtesy and kindness, and accommodated him in his own cabin. The prize was taken to Panama, where she arrived on the 9th of July, the distance from San Mateo being 500 miles, a very slow passage. She was re-christened the *Visitacion*.

I have inserted, after the *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins*, a Spanish account of the naval action between our hero and Don Beltran de Castro,<sup>4</sup> which I have translated from the life of the Marquis of Cañete,

<sup>1</sup> See page 269.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 271 to 312.

<sup>3</sup> Saunders says that Don Beltran swore by God Almighty, and by the order of Alcantara, whereof he had received knighthood, and in token whereof he wore on his breast a green cross, that he would give them their lives with good entreaty.—Purchas, iv, p. 1410.

<sup>4</sup> See pages 333 to 349.

Viceroy of Peru, by Dr. Don Christobal Suarez de Figueroa.<sup>1</sup> Readers will thus be able to form a judg-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Don Christobal Suarez de Figueroa was a man of some literary fame in his day. Cervantes celebrated him in the *Viaje al Parnaso*, and in *Don Quijote* (iv, p. 272). His poems are published with eulogy in the *Parnaso Español*, of Sedano. He was born at Valladolid in 1578, his father having been a Gallician advocate of small means. At seventeen, after studying in his native town, he went to Italy, and obtained the degree of Doctor in one of the universities of Lombardy. The Governor of Milan then gave him the post of auditor of a body of troops sent on an expedition to Piedmont. During the next twenty-seven years he was a judge, a governor, and accountant of troops in Lombardy, Naples, and Spain. He devoted his spare time to literature, especially to studying Italian works. In 1602 he published his first book, a translation in Castilian verse of the pastoral poem of Guarini, entitled *El Pastor Fido*. Cervantes praised this translation. When Don Quixote comes to Barcelona (part 2, cap. lxii) he visits a printing press, and makes a long dissertation on the bad translations that were then appearing in Spain. But he excepts the *Pastor Fido* from his censures. In 1609 Suarez de Figueroa published the most famous of his works, *La Constante Amarilis*, a pastoral novel. In 1612 appeared his heroic poem, entitled *España defendida*. These works gained a high reputation for their author. In 1599 the Marquis of Cañete had died, after having been treated with shameful ingratitude for all his services. Moreover, he had not received justice from Ercilla in his *Araucana*, so that his heirs considered that a narrative of his life ought to be published. They applied to Suarez de Figueroa to undertake the work, and the family papers were entrusted to him, including the correspondence of the Marquis. The result was the work entitled *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, cuarto Marques de Cañete*, which was printed in 1613. It, however, never reached a second edition until it appeared in the fifth volume (pages 1 to 206) of the *Collección de Historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la Historia Nacional*, a work published in seven volumes at Santiago in 1864. After completing this biography, Suarez de Figueroa published other books, in-

ment from the accounts of both sides. They agree on all material points. Hawkins wrote from memory, and many years after the event; while Suarez de Figueroa, although he was not an actor in the scenes he describes, had the great advantage of having at his disposal all the official and other documents formerly in the possession of the Viceroy of Peru at the time.

Hawkins and his fellow prisoners were taken to Payta, and thence to Lima. Hawkins was at first treated with kindness and consideration by the Marquis of Cañete, then Viceroy of Peru; and his servant Saunders says that he was beloved for his valour, by all brave men in those parts. He was received, says Saunders, by all the best of the country, and carried by them to a princely house all richly hanged, the which he had to himself. But afterwards he was claimed by the Inquisition, and suffered much anxiety and annoyance. The Viceroy delayed entire compliance with the requisition of the Holy Office on the ground that he had no instructions. Nevertheless, within six or seven days of his arrival at Lima, Hawkins was

cluding *El Pasajero*, *advertencias utilissimas a la vida humana*, written in the form of dialogues, and giving the biography of the author. In this work he confesses that his character is frivolous, that he is imprudent and a murmurer, and he attacks Cervantes, who had praised him, and who died in 1617, the year *El Pasajero* was published. Suarez de Figueroa was never in America. He was living in 1624. The best account of his life is by Don Diego Barros Arana, the editor of the Chilian volume. The *Constante Amarilis* went through three editions, the last at Madrid (8vo.) 1781. Ticknor gives some account of the works of Christobal Suarez de Figueroa in his *History of Spanish Literature*, ii, 305, 432, 463, 464, 141 (*n.*), iii, 46, 169 (*n.*), 92.

carried by a Father to the "Holy House", to rest there till they heard what should be done with him. The honour of Don Beltran de Castro, who had promised that Hawkins and his people should be allowed to return to England, was also compromised. The Marquis wrote to Philip II for orders, and received a very ambiguous reply, dated December 1595. The King wrote:—"You understand that he (Hawkins) is a person of quality. In this matter I desire that Justice may be done conformably to the quality of the persons."<sup>1</sup> This loop-hole probably enabled the Viceroy to defy the Inquisition, and Hawkins was sent to Spain, by way of Panama in 1597, after a detention of three years at Lima. Purchas gives two interesting extracts from letters written by fellow captives of Hawkins. The first is *A brief note written by Master John Ellis, one of the captains with Sir Richard Hawkins in his voyage through the Strait of Magellan, begunne the ninth of April 1593, concerning the said strait and certaine places on the coast and inland of Peru.*<sup>2</sup> Ellis made a journey from Lima across the Andes to Guamanga and Cuzco. He was the first Englishman who ever visited the ancient capital of the Yncas, which he describes as being as "big as Bristol, having a castle on a hill with stones of 20 tons weight strangely joined together without mortar". Purchas next gives two letters from T. Saunders,<sup>3</sup> servant to Sir Richard Hawkins, addressed to his father, Sir John, from the prison

<sup>1</sup> See page 348.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas, iv, lib. vii, cap. 6, page 1415.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 1016.



at San Lucar. Saunders speaks of one Master Lucas, who was condemned to the galleys by the Holy Office and sent to Nombre de Dios, where he died.

Sir Richard was sent to Spain in a galleon which touched at Terceira, in the Azores. A fleet under the Earl of Essex<sup>1</sup> chased her into the roads, and she did not escape without loss, for the splinters from the English shot killed and wounded a dozen Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> The galleon, with Hawkins on board, then continued its voyage to Seville, and in the *Observations* there is an account of a curious accident which befell two ships at anchor in the river, owing to a Spanish punctilio.

Sir Richard was thrown into prison at Seville, in defiance of the terms of his surrender, and was dishonourably detained for several years. Don Beltran de Castro was indignant at a breach of faith which compromised his honour, and persistently protested against

<sup>1</sup> This expedition of 1597, under Essex, is known as the "Island Voyage"; and an interesting account of it is given by Sir Francis Vere, in his *Commentaries* (p. 45). The Cadiz Expedition was in 1596. The object of the "Island Voyage" was to destroy the Spanish ships at Ferroll and Coruña, and to intercept the galleons coming from the Indies, on board of one of which was the captive Sir Richard Hawkins. The commanders of the English fleet were the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Southampton, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Francis Vere, Sir William Monson, and Sir Walter Raleigh. They plied between the Islands of Graciosa and Terceira, in the Azores, until a great ship was sighted, and then a fleet of twenty sail. The Spaniards got safely into the Terceira anchorage, where they were so well defended by land batteries that the English could not attack them without extreme hazard. Essex landed on the Island of St. Michael's, had a skirmish with some Spanish troops, and then returned to England.

<sup>2</sup> See page 304.

in but for a long time without avail. In May 1598<sup>1</sup> a letter to Cecil reported that Hawkins was still kept in the castle at San Lúcar as a hostage for Spaniards in England. Another letter from Lisbon reported that Captain Hawkins escaped out of the castle of Seville in September 1598, but was taken, thrust into a dungeon, and great store of irons put upon him.<sup>2</sup> In the following year the unhappy captive managed to send a message to England. One Deacon, Sir Richard's servant, was passed over by Martin de Marseval from St. Jean de Luz and enabled to get on board a British vessel of St. Ives in the Breton port of Conquet, in August 1599.<sup>3</sup> In April 1600 Richard Cooke, another messenger, brought news of the captive, taking a passage in the *Diana* of Portsmouth.

By one of these channels Hawkins made a touching appeal to Queen Elizabeth, his letter being dated April 1st, 1598. He wrote from his prison in Seville, asking for compassion in the name of his father's services, who sacrificed his life for his Queen. He added that he himself had spent fifteen years in her service without pay or recompense, knowing that she had infinite charges while he had a good estate; and he urged that he was in danger of perpetual imprisonment unless her powerful hand was reached out. The letter concludes with a piteous appeal in the name of his wife and children. In 1599 he was removed to Madrid.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1598-1601, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, vi, *Devonshire*, part ii, 1822) says that there was a tradition in the Hawkins family that Sir Richard,

His next letter is dated from the Court Prison at Madrid, on October 23rd, 1599, and addressed to Sir Henry Nevill, the English Ambassador at Paris. He tells him that he is the unfortunate son of Sir John Hawkins; that he fought for three days and nights and was wounded in six places; that most of his men were killed and wounded, and that he surrendered when the ship was ready to sink. The Spanish general sent his glove as a pledge to give life and liberty; but he had been detained lest he should return and molest the Spaniards. Most of his people had been freed long ago. He entreated the Ambassador to intercede with the Queen for him. "I and my father", he concluded, "ever since we could bear arms, spent time and substance in her service."<sup>1</sup>

The dishonorable detention of Richard Hawkins at last excited the indignation of a more powerful man

when a prisoner in Seville, captivated the heart of a Spanish lady, and that the circumstance of the lady's attachment and his fidelity to his wife gave occasion to the well known ballad of "The Spanish Lady's Love" in Percy's *Reliques* (ii, p. 256). The ballad is said to have been written by Hawkins, and it is also stated that the gold chain presented to him by the lady was carefully handed down as an heirloom in the family, and was lately in possession of Mrs. Ilbert Prideaux, a female descendant. The claim is absurd, as the Englishman in the ballad was an officer in the expedition of Essex. The Pophams of Littlecote also claimed the lover, but the Bowles family have proved that he was one of the Bolles of Scampton (see *Illingworth's History of Scampton*, p. 397 (n.) and Mr. Charles Long, a high authority on such matters, concurred. Sundry jewels belonging to the Spanish lady came into the possession of the Lees of Coldrey, where Mr. Charles Long saw them.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 333.



than Don Beltran de Castro. The credit of his release is due to the Count of Miranda,<sup>1</sup> who declared, if a prisoner was detained whose liberty had been promised, no future agreement could ever be made, because faith in Spanish honour would be destroyed. His views prevailed, and Richard Hawkins at length returned to England, after a dreary captivity of nearly eight years.<sup>2</sup>

It was a sad home-coming. The brave old father gone, the estates of both ruined, and long years of the prime of life utterly wasted. Richard Hawkins settled down, with his wife and children, in

<sup>1</sup> The first Count of Miranda was Don Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, second son of the Count of Placencia and Ledesma. He was a great military leader in the days of Juan II and Enrique IV, and received his creation from the latter. Don Pedro, the second Count of Miranda, served in the Granada war, and Don Francisco, the third, was Viceroy of Navarre, under Charles V, and a Knight of the Golden Fleece. He married Maria Henriquez de Cardenas, and was succeeded by Francisco, fourth Count of Miranda, a nobleman of rare virtue and great authority. His son, Don Pedro, died at Madrid, in 1572, of a kick from a horse, leaving three daughters. Maria, the eldest, was Countess of Miranda in her own right, and married her uncle Juan, who was Captain General of Cataluña, Viceroy of Naples, President of the Royal Council of Castille, and of the Councils of State and of War. It was this nobleman who insisted upon the liberation of Richard Hawkins. Philip III created him Duke of Peñaranda.

<sup>2</sup> *Gulielmi Camdeni annalium rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha*, iii, p. 683. "Verum visum Hispanis, ad deterrendum ne alii in Australe mare penetrarent, hanc servitatem adhibere, donec Comes Mirandæ Concilii Proeses pronunciatet, illum dimittendum, eo quod in rebus bellicis promissa a regiis ducibus deliberate sub conditione facta sint servanda, alias neminem deditionem unquam facturum."

one of the most secluded combes between Dartmouth and the Start Point. The road from Dartmouth to Slapton leads southwards along the coast, with the sea generally in sight, first up a very steep hill to Stoke Fleming, then down to the little hamlet of Blackpool in a shingly bay, up again to Street, and down to the long reach of Slapton Sands, which extends for several miles, almost to the Start. The "sands" are in reality a steep bank of fine shingle, within which there is a fresh water lake called the Ley, about three miles long, full of roach and pike, and frequented by water fowl of all kinds. A causeway leads across the Ley and over the hill, down into the pretty little village of Slapton. The church has a low tower and spire, a nave separated from the two aisles by four arches, and good perpendicular windows. There is a very richly carved wooden rood screen across the chancel and others across each aisle, with grapes and vine leaves carved along the upper borders. Old glass from other windows has been collected in a south chancel window, consisting of coats of arms of the Bryan family (or three piles *azure*). Near the church, and in the hollow where the village is built, there is a tall ivy-covered tower of the fourteenth century, part of a chantry founded by Jane, the wife of Sir Guy de Bryan, K.G.<sup>1</sup> Slapton was originally the property of the Bryan family. In the time of Henry VIII it was sold to Edward Ameredith, and his son

<sup>1</sup> Sir Guy de Bryan was the last Knight of the Garter created in the reign of Edward III.

John sold Slapton and Pole to Sir Richard Hawkins.<sup>1</sup>



CHANTRY TOWER AT SLAPTON.

From Slapton church a pretty Devonshire lane leads up for a quarter-of-a-mile to Pole, where is the site of the old residence of the Bryans, Amerediths, and Hawkinses, in a secluded hollow, with many fine trees. No ruins remain now, and the site is occupied by a modern house and farm buildings. From the lane leading down from Pole to Slapton there is a view of the sea,

<sup>1</sup> From the son of Sir Richard Hawkins Pole and Slapton passed into the possession of the Luttrell family, who sold the estates to Mr. Nicholas Paige. The ruins of the old mansion at Pole were taken down in 1800. William Paige, son of Nicholas, had a daughter, who married Mr. Bastard. The property now belongs to Mr. Richard Bastard.

with Start Point in the distance. It was here that Sir Richard Hawkins lived during the last twenty years of his life, with his wife and family ; passing down the lane to Slapton church every Sunday, and doubtless recounting his adventures and sufferings to friends and relations during many a summer stroll and winter evening in the old house at Pole.



SLAPTON CHURCH.

But Sir Richard Hawkins was very far from being an idle man in his Devonshire home. He was knighted

by James I, was appointed Vice-Admiral of Devon, and was often at Plymouth on business connected with his office. In March 1605 we find him sequestering a Spanish prize laden with Brazil wood and sugar, which was driven into Salcombe bay.<sup>1</sup> In June 1608 he is corresponding with the Earl of Nottingham respecting some pirates, and discussing a question of Admiralty jurisdiction;<sup>2</sup> and in September of the same year mention is made of his active prosecution of pirates, in his office of Vice-Admiral of Devon.<sup>3</sup>

He was also engaged in projects for a new voyage of discovery. In March 1614 there was a proposal before the Governors of the East India Company for carrying out a favourite scheme of Sir James Lancaster to send a ship through Magellan's Straits to the Solomon Islands, and it was suggested that Sir Richard Hawkins should have the command.<sup>4</sup> He was generally held to be of "courage, art, and knowledge" to attempt such enterprise.<sup>5</sup> There is a letter from Sir Richard himself to the Company on this subject, dated July 16th, 1614.<sup>6</sup> He referred to a discovery formerly made by him, and to his desire to undertake another voyage to the Straits in person. A Committee was appointed to confer with Sir James Lancaster on the subject, and then to treat with Sir Richard, but with orders not to meddle with his ship, which was very old. He offered,

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1603-1610, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 457.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (East India)*, 1513-1516, p. 706.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 711.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

Copy of  
Plymouth  
1603-4  
p. 1604/5

with others, to join the Company in adventuring £20,000 for a voyage to the South Sea.

Nothing appears to have come of this negotiation, which shows, however, that Hawkins was as eager and zealous as ever in the cause of geographical discovery. In July 1620 we find Sir Richard Hawkins going, in command of the *Vanguard*, as Vice-Admiral of a fleet of twenty ships, under Sir Robert Mansell as Admiral, for suppressing Algerine pirates;<sup>1</sup> and in October a special commission was issued to Hawkins, to be Admiral in case of Mansell's death.<sup>2</sup> Then comes a letter announcing the end. "Sir Robert Mansell and his crew are ill-paid and Sir Richard Hawkins, the Vice-Admiral, has died of vexation."<sup>3</sup> This is in a letter from the Lord Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton dated April 17th, 1622. He was seized with a fit, it is said, when actually in the chamber of the Privy Council on business connected with his command. His will, dated on April 16th, 1622, was proved by his widow on June 13th of the same year. He is described as of Slapton in Devonshire, and owner of the manor of Pole, as well as of a house called Pryvitt, at Alverstoke in Hampshire.<sup>4</sup> His widow followed him to the grave in 1629, and lies buried in the north aisle of Slapton Church.<sup>5</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Rowland Woodward to Francis Windebank. *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1619-1623, p. 159.

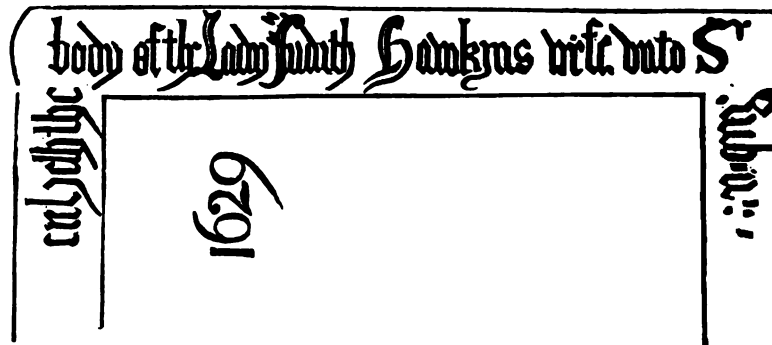
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> For copy of Sir Richard's will, see page xlvii.

<sup>5</sup> For descendants of Sir Richard Hawkins, see page l.

slate slab, with an inscription round it, marks the spot, but one side and part of both ends are obliterated. There remains :—



Sir Richard Hawkins was actually passing his work through the press, at the time of his very sudden death ; and it was published immediately afterwards with a dedication to Charles, Prince of Wales, by the author, and a short notice by another hand. The following is the entry in the Register of Stationers' Hall :—<sup>1</sup>

" 1622,

" 24 Julii.

<p>" Master John Jaggard<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>entred for his copie under the handes of Wilson and Master Gilwyn a book called <i>The discipline of the sea historie, in the observations which Sir Richard Hawkins made in his South Sea voyage, anno domini, 1593, vj.</i>"</p>
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The actual title page of the work, published by

<sup>1</sup> *Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Register*, iv, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Master Jaggard had been Warden of the Stationers in 1619.

Jaggard in 1622, will be found at page 83 of the present volume. Purchas, in his *Pilgrims*, reprinted the *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins* in a mutilated form—"once before published, now reviewed and corrected by a written copie, illustrated with notes, and in divers places abbreviated".<sup>1</sup> The reprint of the Hakluyt Society is from the original edition of 1622. Admiral Burney devotes an interesting chapter to the voyage of Sir Richard Hawkins.<sup>2</sup> A poetical relation of the voyage is preserved in the British Museum, composed by William Ridley in his nineteenth year.

Sir Richard intended to have given an account of his long imprisonment, and of Peru and Tierra Firme, Terceira, and Spain, in a second part, as he informs us at the end of his *Observations* (see p. 329). Death prevented the accomplishment of this intention, and the loss of the promised second part is a serious and irreparable loss to history. For we possess no account of Peru during that period, written by an observant foreigner.

Another distinguished seaman of this family was William, brother of Sir John and uncle of Sir Richard Hawkins. He was not only an adventurous sea captain but also a large owner of ships, and in 1568 his Plymouth cruisers were the terror of the Spaniards.<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> IV, lib. vii, cap. v, pages 1367 to 1415.

<sup>2</sup> *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, by James Burney (London, 1806) part II, chap. ix, pages 118 to 133.

<sup>3</sup> Froude's *History of England*, ix, p. 363.



1582 he made the voyage to the West Indies, with his nephew Richard, which has already been referred to. He died on the 7th of October 1589, having had eleven children by two wives, and his brother Sir John put up a monument to his memory (now removed) in the church of St. Nicholas at Deptford, with the following inscription :—<sup>1</sup>

“Sacrae perpetuæque memoriæ Gulielmi Haukyns de Plimouth armigeri ; qui veræ religionis verus cultor, pauperibus præcipue naviculariis munificus, rerum nauticarum studiosissimus, longinquas instituit sæpe navigationes ; arbiter in causis difficilissimis æquissimus, fide, probitate, et prudentia singulari. Duas duxit uxores, e quarum una 4, ex altera 7 suscepit liberos. Johannes Haukyns, eques auratus, classis regis quæstor, frater mœstissimus posuit. Obiit spe certa resurgendi 7 die mensis Octobris anno domini 1589.”

Several of the sons of William Hawkins of Plymouth were sailors or merchants.<sup>2</sup> But the most famous was he who bore the same name as his father. We first hear of WILLIAM HAWKINS (*junior*) as Lieutenant-General of Fenton's fleet in 1582. He had previously been in some voyage to Magellan's Straits, and also in the West Indies.<sup>3</sup> Edward Fenton, a Nottinghamshire man, was appointed by Martin Frobisher as captain of the *Gabriel* in the second Arctic voyage of 1577, and he also accompanied Frobisher in the third voyage as

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 946.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Hawkins was certainly a son. He was an adventurer of £600 in the sixth East India Company's voyage. Giles, Nicholas, and Roger were also probably sons. Giles was a factor, who died at Bantam in 1615.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 401.

Rear-Admiral in the *Judith*. Four years afterwards Fenton was selected, by the Earl of Leicester, to command an expedition nominally to discover the north-west passage. The Queen contributed two of her ships. One was the galleon *Leicester* of 400 tons with Fenton on board as general. The other was the *Bonaventure* of 300 tons, commanded by Luke Ward, as Vice-Admiral. There were also the *Francis* of 40 tons, under Captain John Drake, with William Markham as master; and the *Elizabeth* pinnace. The instructions were ambiguous and absurd. Fenton was to discover the north-west passage if it was to be found south of 40° N., but he was not to go north of that parallel, and he was to visit the Moluccas. But he was not to pass the Straits of Magellan. In short, he was to discover the north-west passage by going round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, and enriching himself and his employers by trade and plunder.

The journal of the voyage was kept by Mr. Maddox, the chaplain of the *Leicester*; and William Hawkins also kept a journal which is now in the British Museum (*MSS. Otho*, E viii), but much mutilated by fire. What can be deciphered will be found at pages 353 to 363 of the present volume. The expedition sailed in May 1582, and on July 20th the coast of Guinea was sighted. It appears to have been a most unhappy cruise, and the journal of Hawkins is full of complaints of the ill treatment he received from Captain Fenton. It is clear that Fenton wanted to abandon the voyage at a very early period, and that most of the officers protested against it. The *Francis* reached the

river Plate, where she was wrecked, but the crew were saved and kept among the savages for fifteen months. The other ships entered the port of St. Vincent in Brazil, where an action was fought with a Spanish fleet by moonlight, and next morning, until both sides were weary. The English then made the best of their way home; and the *Leicester* arrived at Kinsale on June 14th, 1513. On reaching the Downs Fenton broke out in violent abuse of Hawkins, calling him a knave, a villain, and a boy; and the voyage ended in mutual reproaches. It was an utter failure. Fenton, however, does not appear to have lost any credit.<sup>1</sup>

We do not hear of William Hawkins again until 1607; but he appears to have been in the Levant, and to have learnt Turkish; for he could converse in that language. In 1607 he was captain of the *Hector* in the third voyage set forth by the East India Company. Captain Keeling, in the *Dragon*, was general of the voyage. Purchas gives an abstract of Keeling's Journal occupying eighteen pages,<sup>2</sup> and another abstract of the Journal of Captain Hawkins of the same length.<sup>3</sup> In my Introduction to the *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, I have stated that the manuscript of the Journal of

<sup>1</sup> Fenton commanded the *May Rose*, of 600 tons, in 1588, in the fleet for opposing the Spanish Armada, and he had a distinguished share in the subsequent operations. He afterwards lived at Deptford, and died there in 1603. Roger, Earl of Cork, who married his niece, erected a monument to his memory in the church of St. Nicholas.

<sup>2</sup> IV, cap. vi, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> III, cap. vii, p. 206.

Hawkins was lost.<sup>1</sup> It should be in the collection of East India Company's logs in the India Office. It has since been found among the manuscripts in the British Museum (*Egerton MS.* 2100); but much injured by damp. All that can be deciphered will be found at pages 364 to 388 of the present volume. This is followed by the interesting account of the "occurrences which happened in the time of his residence in India", and the "briefe discourse of the strength, wealth, and government, with some of the customs of the *Great Mogol*", reprinted from Purchas.<sup>2</sup>

The journey of William Hawkins to Agra, and his residence at the court of Jehanghir, may be looked upon as the opening scene in the history of British India. The Emperor induced the English captain to marry the daughter of Mubarik Khan, a Christian Armenian; and when Hawkins was dismissed from Agra in November 1611, he took his native wife with him. They got safely on board Sir Henry Middleton's ship in the following January, and proceeded to Bantam, whence they sailed for England in the *Thomas*, arriving at Saldanha Bay on April 21st, 1613. The *Thomas* sailed from Saldanha Bay on May 21st, 1613, and here the letter (or report) of Hawkins to the company terminates abruptly.<sup>3</sup> He died on the passage from the Cape, and was buried in Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Hawkins, alone amongst strangers, was left in a

<sup>1</sup> Page viii.

<sup>2</sup> III, cap. vii, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> See page 418.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (East India)*, 1608-1616.

very forlorn condition. But she had one diamond worth £2000, and smaller ones worth £4000, so that she had no difficulty in finding another husband. In 1614 she married Gabriel Towerson,<sup>1</sup> who had been in the voyage of Captain Saris and brought home the *Hector*. In 1617 Captain and Mrs. Towerson went out to India again, and visited Agra ; where the lady remained with her relations. Towerson went home, and in 1620 he was appointed Principal Factor at the Moluccas, where he was judicially murdered, after suffering inhuman treatment from the Dutch, on February 27th, 1623. He was the chief victim in the Massacre of Amboyna.

I have to thank Mr. Coote of the British Museum for the careful and intelligent way in which he transcribed two very illegible manuscripts ; the Reverend Bradford Denne Hawkins for a photograph of his bust of Sir John Hawkins ; the Reverend R. Antrim for information respecting Slapton ; and Mr. Fortescue Moresby, R.N., for sketches of the church and priory at Slapton, and for the copy of the inscription on the Lady Hawkins's tombstone in Slapton church.

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<sup>1</sup> The Company presented her with a purse of 200 Jacobuses, as a token of their love, upon a general release being given by her.

## WILL OF SIR RICHARD HAWKINS.

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In the name of God Amen the sixteenth day of Aprill 1622 in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovraigne Lord James by the Grace of God Kinge of England Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the Faith and of Scotland the fyve and fyfth I Sir Richard Hawkins of Slapton in the Countye of Devon Knight beinge sicke and weake in bodye but of pfect mynde and memory blessed be God therefore doe hereby make ordayne and declare this to be my last Will and Testament in manner and forme followinge. First and principallye I commend my soule unto Almightye God my Maker Redeemer and Sanctifier hoping and beleeving assuredly that through the only merritts death and resurrection of Jesus Christ I shall obtayne full and free remission and pardon of all my sinnes and be made ptaker of eternall life and happiness in the kingdome of heaven with God's elect for ever And I comitt my body to the earthe from whence it came and after my bodye buried my will and minde is that all suche debts as I shall owe to any p'son or p'sons at the tyme of my decease be first well and trulie satisfied And touching the orderinge and disposinge of all such lands grounds tenements goods and chattells as it hathe pleased Almightye God to blesse mee with in this life I give and bequeathe the same in manner and forme following Item I give unto Judith my well beloved wife (for and duringe the terme of her naturall life) all that my Mannor or Lordshipp of Poole in the Parishe of Slapton in the County of Devon with all mills lands grounds messuages cottages tenements and hereditaments with their and every of their appur-

tennes to the said Mannor or Lordshipp of Poole now belonging or in any wise app'teyninge And likewise I give and bequeath unto the said Judith my wife (for and duringe the tearme of her naturall life) all other my lands and tenements cottages and hereditaments with the appertennies situate lyeinge and being in or about Plymouth in the Countye of Devon Neverthelesse and uppon this condition followeing that she shall yearelye duringe soe longe tyme as my sonne John Hawkins shall remaine and dwell with his said mother allowe and paie unto my said sonne twentie pounds per annum of lawfull money of England And if it shall happen that he shall hereafter be minded to lyve from her and betake himself to some other place of aboade or otherwise to travaile or to betake himself to lyve either at the Innes of Courte or at the universities of Oxford or Cambridge then to paie unto my said sonne John and his assignes during all such time as hee shall live from her as aforesaid the yearlie some of fortie pounds of lawfull money of England at fower of the most usual feests or termes in the yeare by even and equall por'cons Item I give and bequeath ymediatlíe from and after the decease of my said wife Judith all the said Mannor howse or Lordship called Poole with all mills land grounds messuages cottages tenements and hereditament with theire and every of theire appurten'ces in the Parish of Slapton and all other my said lands tenements cottages and hereditaments with th' app'tences lyeinge and being in or about Plymouth in the County of Devon aforesaid with th' reverc'on and rever'cons thereof unto my said sonne John Hawkins with all and singular my goods chattells utensils and household stuffe whatsoever Provided always that my said wife may have and enjoy use occupie and possesse the same goods and chattells during her life without any interup'con or lett of my said sonne John or of any others by his procurement Item I give and bequeathe to my sonne Richard Hawkins and to his heires for ever all that messuage or tene

ment with th' app'tences called Pryvitt scituate lyeinge and beinge in Alverstoke in the Countye of South<sup>t</sup> with all lands and grounds thereunto belonginge or in any wise apperteyninge Item I give and bequeathe to Margaret Hawkins my daughter (over and above a hundred pounds legacie given her by her grandmother and a jewell of twentye pound value) the some of one hundred pounds of lawfull mony of England Item I give and bequeathe to my daughter Joane Hawkins one hundred and twenty pounds and to my youngest daughter Mary the like some of one hundred and twentye pounds All which said three severall legacies of somes of money by me given unto my said three daughters as afforesaide I will shal be paid them at sixteene yeares of age or daye of marriage which shall first happen and to be receaved and had out of my owne entertaynmt due to me from the King's Ma'tie for my last service and imployment don by me at Argeire And if any of my said daughters shall happen to decease or dep'te this transitorie lyfe before they shall happen to come or attayne to their severall ages of sixteene yeares or daye of marriage as aforesaid then I will that the parte and porc'on of any of them so dyeinge or deceasinge as aforesaide shall remayne and come unto the others surviving and overlyving p'te and p'te alike by even and equall por'cons also for the further advancement and encrease of my said daughters porcons as aforesaide I doe equallie giue to amongst my said daughters the some of one hundred and fiftie pounds due to me by Sir Henry Thynn Knight to be paid them when and so soone as my Executrix hereafter named shall happen to recover and receive the same And I make and ordayne the said Judith my lovinge wife sole and only Executrix of this my last Will and Testament and I renounce and revoke all former Wills by me formerly made In witness whereof I the said Sir Richard Hawkins have hereunto sett my hand and seale the said sixteenth day of Aprill 1622 in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our said



#### DESCENDANTS OF SIR RICHARD HAWKINS.

Sovereigns King James over England France and  
Ireland Richard Hawkins Sealed and delivered in the  
presence of us Thomas Bacon Jo Gifford Josias Shute and  
Robert Heywood Sc

*First June 1611, 1611, by Dame Judith Hawkins.*

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#### DESCENDANTS OF SIR RICHARD HAWKINS.

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, by his wife Judith, had five children,  
John, Richard, Margaret, Joan, and Mary.

The eldest son, John, succeeded to Slapton on the death of  
his mother in 1639. He married Hester . . . and had  
three sons, Robert who died in 1644, John born in 1639  
and died in 1642, and John born in 1643.

There is reason to believe that John, born in 1643, was  
the same John Hawkins who settled at Great Milton in  
Oxfordshire in 1682, having previously married Mary,  
daughter of Edward Dewe, of Islip, who was the son of  
Richard Dewe of Abingdon, by Elizabeth daughter of Tesdale,  
the Founder of Pembroke College at Oxford. For this John  
of Great Milton bore the same arms and crest as Sir  
Richard Hawkins.

John Hawkins of Great Milton, by Mary Dewe, had 14  
children, born between 1681 and 1698. The eldest, William  
Hawkins, was a Serjeant at Law, and author of *Pleas of the  
Crown*. He had two sons, William and Philip, Fellows of  
Pembroke College, who left issue, and a daughter Mary,  
married to William Ram. The second son of John Hawkins  
of Great Milton was also named John.

This second son had a son William, who married Susannah,  
daughter of Thomas Grant by Susannah his wife, who was

niece of Bishop Bradford. Their son, Samuel Hawkins, was born in 1757, and died in 1839. By his wife Sarah, daughter of Charles Calland, Esq., he left two sons, John Croft and Bradford Denne.

John Croft Hawkins was born in 1798 and, after being in the navy, entered the Bombay Marine in 1816. He served in the Persian Gulf at the reduction of Ras-el-Khaimah, and in 1821 against the Benu-Bu-Ali tribe. He became a Lieutenant in 1824, and Commander in 1831. He made a remarkably rapid overland journey through Persia to India in 1832, for which he received the special thanks of the Board of Control. In 1838 he surveyed the Euphrates as far as Hit; and was promoted to the rank of Captain in 1839. He was Commodore in the Persian Gulf, and performed acts of great personal daring: first in bringing a noted piratical chief to terms; and secondly in diving to run a line through the ring of an anchor, which greatly contributed to save H.M.S. *Fox*. Sir Henry Blackwood spoke of the skill and energy of Commodore Hawkins as never surpassed by any seaman. He thrice received the thanks of the Home, and seven times of the local Government. He died at Bombay in 1851. Commodore Hawkins was one of the most distinguished naval officers in the Indian Service.

Bradford Denne Hawkins, born in 1799, entered holy orders, and is Rector of Rivenhall near Witham, in Essex. He married Sarah, daughter of Robert Hopkins, Esq., of Tidmarsh House in Berkshire; and has a son, Robert Samuel Hawkins, of 18, Norham Gardens, Oxford, who was born on July 11th, 1832, and married Lucy Sybil, daughter of Sir Thomas Tancred, Bart. They have issue.

Burke, in his *Landed Gentry*, gives a genealogy by which Sir John Hawkins, the author of *The History of Music* (born 1719, died 1789) is made to be a descendant of John, the eldest son of Sir Richard Hawkins. But there is internal evidence of this genealogy being apocryphal. This Sir John's

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lii      DESCENDANTS OF SIR RICHARD HAWKINS.

father was a house carpenter, respecting whose ancestry there is no evidence whatever.

Richard Hawkins, the second son of Sir Richard Hawkins, settled at Slapton and had a son Nicholas, who was born in 1639. John Hawkins, the son of Nicholas, was settled at Kingsbridge in Devonshire, and was a Captain of Militia in 1703. His son Richard Hawkins of Kingsbridge died in 1742, leaving two sons, John and Richard.

Richard Hawkins, the second son, was also of Kingsbridge, and died there in 1778, leaving a son, Richard Hawkins of Kingsbridge, who died in 1836. This last Richard had two sons, namely Major John Hawkins, of the E.I.C. Engineers, who died in 1831 leaving four children; and Captain Abraham Mills Hawkins, R.N., who had two sons—John Mills Hawkins in the 52nd Light Infantry, and Christopher Stuart Hawkins, Esq., of Alston near Plympton in Devonshire.

THE VOYAGE  
OF  
WILLIAM HAWKINS  
(1530),  
AND THE  
THREE VOYAGES  
OF HIS SON  
SIR JOHN HAWKINS  
(1562-1568).



[REDACTED]

A Voyage to Brasill, made by the worshipfull  
*M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to*  
sir Iohn Haukins, Knight, now liuing, in the yeere  
1530.

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OLDE M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisdome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloued of King Henry the eight, and being one of the principall Sea Captaines in the West partes of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowen coastes of Europe, armed out a tall and goodlie ship of his owne, of the burthen of 250. tunnes, called the Pole of Plimmouth wherewith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brasill, a thing in those days very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the Rieur of Sestos,<sup>1</sup> vpon the coast of Guinea, where he trafiqued with the Negroes, and tooke of them Oliphants' teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriuing on the coast of Brasil, used there such discretion, and behaued himselfe so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew into great familiarite and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his 2. voyage, one of the sauage kings of the Countrey of Brasill was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the countrey as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Brazilian king

<sup>1</sup> Rio Cestos, in 5° 30' N., on the Grain Coast of Guinea.

being arriued, was brought up to London, and presented to King Henry 8. lying as then at Whitehall: at the sight of whome, the king and all the Nobilitie did not a little marueile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made accordinge to their sauage manner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inche out from the said holes, which in his own Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had also another hole in his nether lippe, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignesse of a pease: all his apparell, behauiour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

Hauing remained here the space almost of a whole yere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Haukins, according to his promise and appointment, purposed to convey him againe into his Countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of ayre and alteration of diet, the saide Sauage king died at sea, which was feared woulde turn to the loss of the life of Martin Cockeram, his pledge. Neuerthelesse, the Sauages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their Prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harm to him, or any other man of the companie: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their shippe freighted, and furnished with the commodities of the Countrey. Which Martine Cockeram, by the witnesse of sir Iohn Haukins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within these fewe yeeres.

I have bene informed by M. Anthony Garrard, an ancient and worshipful marchant of London, that this voyage to Brasil was frequented by Robert Reniger, Thomas Borey, and diuers other wealthie marchants of Southampton, about 50 yeeres past, to wit, in the yeere 1540.

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**The First Voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant  
knight, sir Iohn Haukins, now treasurer of  
her Maiesties nauie Royall, made to the West  
Indies 1562.**

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**MASTER** Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the yles of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growne in loue and fauour with the people, informed himself amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof he had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured that Negroes were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea, resolued with himselfe to make trial thereof, and communicated that deuise with his worshipfull friends of London: namely, with sir Lionel Ducket,<sup>1</sup> sir Thomas Lodge,<sup>2</sup> M. Gunston,<sup>3</sup> his father-in-lawe, Sir William Winter, M. Bronfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and aduenturers in the action. For which purpose there were 3. good shippes immediately provided. The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himselfe went as Generall; the 2. the Swallow, of 100 tunnes,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mayor of London in 1573. Sir Lionel was an Adventurer in Frobisher's three Arctic voyages.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Lodge, son of William Lodge of Cresset, in Shropshire, was a Governor of the Russia Company in 1561; Lord Mayor in 1563. He was of the Grocers' Company.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of the Admiralty, 1553-70.



wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: And the 3. the Ionas, a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaine's roome: in which small fleete, M. Haukins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of sicknesse, and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subiect.

With this company hee put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562, and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where he receiued friendly intertainment. From thence hee passed to Sierra Leona,<sup>1</sup> upon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the country is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. negroes at the least, besides other marchandises, which that Country yeeldeth. With this praye he sailed ouer the Ocean sea vnto the Island of Hispaniola, and arriued first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negroes, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Porte de Plata, where he made like sales, standing always vpon his gard: from thence also hee sailed to Monte Christi,<sup>2</sup> another port on the north side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable trafique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negroes: for which he received in those 3. places by way of exchange, such quantitie of marchandise, that he did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugers, and some quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted also two

<sup>1</sup> Discovered by Pedro de Cintra in 1462, who named the mountain "Sierra Leona" on account of the roaring of the thunder, which is constantly heard on its cloud-enveloped summit.

<sup>2</sup> Isabella, Port Plata, and Monte Christi, were all ports on the north shore of Hispaniola or St. Domingo.

other hulkes with hides, and other like commodities, which he sent into Spaine.<sup>1</sup> And thus leauing the Island, hee returned and disimboked, passing out by the Islands of the Caycos,<sup>2</sup> without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe, and the afore-saide adventurers, he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

<sup>1</sup> He sent his second in command, Captain Hampton, to Cadiz to dispose of this merchandise; but the cargo was confiscated, and Hawkins thus lost half his profits. An order was also sent to the Indies that no English vessel should be allowed to trade there.

<sup>2</sup> The Caicos Bank, north of St. Domingo.

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The voyage made by the worshipful M. Iohn Haukins,  
*Esquire, now Knight, Captaine of the Iesus of Lubek,*  
one of her Maiesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and  
her two barkes going in his companie to the coast of  
Guinea, and the Indies of Noua Spania, being in  
Affrica, and America: begun in An. Dom. 1564.

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October 18. MASTER Iohn Haukins with the Iesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon, a ship of 7. score, the Tiger, a bark of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth, threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance, and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18. day of October, in the yere of our Lord 1564, with a prosperous winde; at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hande, being a sorrowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out tenne leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion, a ship of the Queenes Maiesties, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and also her consort, the Iohn Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the Sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting; which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort, the Merline of London, which was a starne out of sight, leauing in M. Haukins companie the Iohn Baptist, her other consort.

The Minion,  
the Iohn  
Baptist, and  
the Merline,  
bound for  
Guinea.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde until the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about 9. a clocke

the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which  
 M. Hankins lost the companie of the Iohn Baptist  
 foresaid, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other  
 shippes being sore beaten with the storme. The 23. day  
 the Swallow, to his no small reioicing, came to him againe  
 the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister,  
 the having put roomer not being able to double the Cape,  
 that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25.  
 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia,  
 called Ferroll, where hee remained five dayes, and appointed  
 all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of  
 good companie in this manner: the small shippes to be  
 wayes a head and a weather of the Iesus, and to speake  
 wise a day with the Iesus at least: if in the day the  
 signe bee ouer the poope of the Iesus, or in the night  
 two lightes, then shall all the shippes speake with her. If  
 there be three lights aboard the Iesus, then doeth she cast  
 about: If the weather be extreme, that the small shippes  
 cannot keep companie with the Iesus, then all to keep com-  
 panie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the  
 Island of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes:  
 If any happen to any misfortune, then to shewe two lights,  
 and to shoote off a piece of Ordinance. If any loose com-  
 panie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and  
 strike the Myson<sup>1</sup> three times: Serue God dayly, loue one  
 another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe  
 good companie.

The 26. day the Minion came in also where he was for the  
 reioicing whereof hee gave them certaine pieces of Ordi-  
 nance, after the courtesie of the Sea, for their welcome, but  
 the Minion's men had no mirthe, because of their consort,  
 the Merline, whome, at their departure from M. Hawkins  
 vpon the coast of England, they went to seeke: and having  
 mette with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at

<sup>1</sup> Mizen.

last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners' roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stooke out her poepe, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne), and immediately, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sanke before their eyes.

The 30<sup>1</sup> day of the Moneth M. Haukins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, hauing nowe both the Brigandines at her sterne, wayed ancre, and set saile on their voyage, hauing a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of Nouember they had sight of the Isle of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to haue bene the Canaries, in that they supposed themselves to haue bene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Mynion being a three or foure leagues ahead of vs, kept on her course to Teneriffe, hauing better sight thereof than the others had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For Master Haukins and his companie went more to the West, vpon which course, having sailed awhile, he espied another Island, which he thought to be Teneriffe, and being not able, by the meanes of the fogge upon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer, untill the morning, being the 7. of November, which as yet he could not discerne, but sailed along the coast, the space of two howres, to perceane some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelihood thereof at all, accompting that to be, as it was in deede, the Isle of Palmes:<sup>2</sup> and so sailing forwards, espied another Island, called Gomera,<sup>3</sup> and also Teneriffe, with the which he made, and sailing all night, came in the morning the next day to

The Isle of  
Palmes.  
Gomera and  
Teneriffe.

<sup>1</sup> 20th in edition of 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Palma, the north-westernmost of the Canaries.

<sup>3</sup> Gomera, south-east from Palma, the island from which Columbus sailed.

the port of Adecia,<sup>1</sup> where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arrual, somewhat before he came to anker, he hoysed out his shippe's pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to haue sent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the Gouvernours of the Island, who dwelled a league from the shoare: but as he pretended to haue landed, suddenly there appeared vpon the two pointes of the roade men leuelling of basses and harquebusses to them, with diuers others to the number of 80. with halberts, pykes, swordes, and targets, which happened so contrairie to his expectation that it did greatly amase him, and the more, because he was nowe in their danger, not knowing well how to auoide it without some mischiefe. Wherefore he determined to call to them, for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himself to be an especiall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had sundry things for him, which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while he was thus talking with them, whereby he made them to hold their hands, he willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de Ponte, one of his sonnes being Signior Nicholas Ponte, came foorth, whome he perceauing, desired to put his men aside, and he himself would leape a shoare, and common with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, Master Hawkins desired to haue certaine necessaries prouided for him. In the meane space, while these things were prouiding, he trimmed the maine mast of the Iesus, which in the storme aforesaid was sprong: here he soiourned 7. daies, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte, dwelling at S.

<sup>1</sup> Adexe, on the west side of the island of Teneriffe.

Cruz,<sup>1</sup> a Citie 20. leagues off, came to him and gaue him as gentle entertainment as if he had been his own brother. To speak somewhat of these Islands, being called in olde time *Insulae fortunatae*, by the meanes of the flourishing therof, the fruitfulness of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I haue hearde of: for they make wine better than any in Spaine, they haue grapes of such bignes, that they may be compared to damsons, and in taste inferiours to none: for sugar, suckets, raisons of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine and raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde fowle: they have many Camels also, which being yong, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are used for carriage of necessaries: whose propertie is as he is taught to kneele at the taking of his load, and unloading againe; his nature is to ingender backward, contrairie to other beastes: of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long mishapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, sauing the great toe, a back bearing up like a molehill, a large and thinne neck, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast to lean vpon. This beast liueth hardly, and is contented with strawe, and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carry 500. weight. In one of these islands called "de Fierro"<sup>2</sup> there is, by the reportes of the inhabitants, a certaine tree<sup>3</sup> that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattel are satisfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Island. And it raineth in such abundance that it were incredible vnto man to beleue such a vertue to be in a tree, but it is

"De Fierro."

<sup>1</sup> Santa Cruz is on the north-east side of Teneriffe.

<sup>2</sup> Ferro is the south-westernmost of the Canaries.

<sup>3</sup> See a very full account of this tree in the volume on the conquest of the Canaries, by Bethencourt, edited by Mr. Major (1872), p. 125 (*note*).



known to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordained by God, at whose power therein, we ought not to maruell, seeing he did by his prouidence, as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israell were going into the land of promise, feed them with Manna from heauen, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid, we saw in Guinea many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About these Islands are certaine fitting Islands, which haue bene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished; as the like hath bene of these Islands now known, by the report of the Inhabitants, which were not founde of long time one after the other. And therefore it shoulde seeme he is not yet borne, to whome God hath appointed the finding of them. In this Island of the Teneriffe there is a hill called the Pike, because it is picked, which is in height by their reports, 20. leagues,<sup>1</sup> hauing both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: this pike may be seene in a cleere day 50. leagues off, but it showeth as though it were a blacke clowde a great height in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in height, but in the Indias I have seen many, and in my iudgment not inferiour to the pike, and so the Spaniards write.

Trees dropping water  
in Ginney.

The pike of  
Teneriffe.

The 15 of Nouember, at night, we departed from Teneriffe and the 20. of the same wee had sight of 10. Caruels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would haue spoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Capedelas Barbas.

Cape de  
Barbas.

The 20. the shippes pinnesse, with two men in her, sailing by the shippe, was ouerthrown by the ouersight of them that were in her, the wind being so great that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was

<sup>1</sup> The Peak of Teneriffe is 11,430 feet above the sea.

small hope of recouerie, had not God's helpe, and the Capitaines diligence bene, who hauing well marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24. of the lustiest rowers in the great boate to rowe to windewards, and so recovered, contrary to all men's expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting vpon the keele of her.

Cape  
Blanco.

The 25. he<sup>1</sup> came to Cape Blanco,<sup>2</sup> which is vpon the coast of Affrica, and a place where the Portingals doe ride the fishe there, in the moneth of Nouember especially, and is a very good place of fishing for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogg fishe. In this place the Portingals haue no holde for their defense, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whome they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there, and for their fishing vpon that coast of Affrica, do pay a certaine tribute to the King of the Moores. The people of that part of Affrica are tawnie, hauing long hair without any apparell, sauing before their priuie member. Their weapons in warres, are bowes, and arrowes.

Cape Verde  
in 14 de  
grees.

The 26. we departed from S. Auís Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed ourselues with fishe, and other necessities: and the 29. we came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14. degrees, and a halfe. These people are all black and are called Negroes, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking, for reason of their foode, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goutes, pullin, rise, fruits, and fishe. Here we tooke fishes with heades like Conies, and teeth nothing varying, a iollie thickness, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting of his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans. The people of Cape Verde, are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of al other, sauing the Manicongoe which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Speranz. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes,<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> He in edition of 1810.

<sup>2</sup> In 21° N.

<sup>3</sup> Jaloffs, the people of Senegal.

are borderers by them : their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negroes : for whereas the other use a long dart to fight with in their hands, they carry five or six small ones a piece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuil than any other, because of their dailie traffike with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle, and louing : for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19. that going to Brasill, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60. tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape De Verde, 200. leagues, the planks of their barke with a sea brake out upon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselves in their boates : but by God's prouidence, the wind being westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shoare, to the Isles Braues, and in great penurie got to Cape Verde, where they remained six weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shoare, and wandring with the Negroes too and fro, fortun'd to come to the water-side, and communing with certaine of his countrey men, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with vs : but his entertainment amongst them was such that he desired it not, but through the importunate request of his Countrey men, consented at the last. Here we staid but one night, and part of the day : for the 7. of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negroes there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoide the snares we had laid for them.

The 8. of December we ankered by a small Island, called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shoare, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portingals called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gaue the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden

with yonge and rude folke, who not being vsed to the sight of men, flew so about vs that wee stroke them downe with pikes. In this place, the two ships riding, the two barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapiés, called La Firme, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed a number of 50. in armour, and espying certaine, made at them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it bogged them not to followe, so going on their way forward as they came to a river which they could not passe over. they espyed on the other side two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebusses to them againe, but the ignorant people waied it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but vsing a maruelous crying in their fight, with leaping, and turning their tailes, that it was most strange to see, and gave vs great pleasure to behold them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebusse vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound, and wist not howe it came, because he could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceauing no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio Grande<sup>1</sup> for want of a Pilot, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many shoales, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.<sup>2</sup>

The Island  
called Sam-  
bula.

The 10. of December, hauing a northeast wind, with raine, and storme, which weather continued two daies together, was the occasion that the Salomon and Tyger lost our companie: for whereas the Iesus and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands, called Sambula, the 12. day, the Salomon and Tiger came not thither, till the 14. In this Island we staid certaine daies, going every day a shoare,

<sup>1</sup> The Rio Grande was discovered in 1460 by Cadamosto, and is now called the Jeba, in 11° 50' N.

<sup>2</sup> Ilhas dos Idolos, in 9° 35' N.

take the Inhabitants with burning, and spoiling their  
wines, who before were Sapias, and were conquered by  
the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona.

The Samboses had inhabited there 3 yeeres before our  
coming thither, and in so short space haue so planted the  
ground, that they had great plentie of mill, rise, rootes,  
ompions, pullin, goates, of small frye dried, euery house  
all of the countrey fruite planted by God's prouidence, as  
Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no  
place in all that countrey so abundantly, whereby they liued  
more deliciously then other. These inhabitants haue diuers  
of the Sapias, which they tooke in the warres, as their  
slaves, whome onely they keepe to till the ground, in that  
they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will work  
themselves, of whom wee tooke many in that place, but of  
the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. Al  
the Samboses haue white teeth as wee haue, far vnlike to  
the Sapias, which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their  
teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to set out  
themselves, and doe iagge their flesh, both legges, armes,  
and bodies, as workmanlike as a Jerkinmaker with vs  
pinketh a ierkin. These Sapias be more ciuil then the  
Samboses, for whereas the Samboses liue most by the spoile  
of their enemies, both in taking their victuals and eating  
them also, the Sapias doe not eat mans flesh, vnless in  
the warres they be driuen by necessitie thereunto, which  
they haue not vsed, but by the example of the Samboses,  
but liue onely with fruite, and cattel, whereof they haue  
great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapias  
desire not warre, except that they be therevnto prouoked  
by the inuasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses  
for want of foode, are inforced thereunto, and therefore are  
not woont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe  
those that they take, vntill such time as they want meate  
and then they kill them. There is also another occasion

The Sam-  
boses.

Sapias.

that prouoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapiés, which is for couetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapiés haue an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses diggeth vp the ground to haue the same treasure, for the Samboses haue not the like store of golde, that the Sapiés haue. In this Island of Sambula,<sup>1</sup> we found about 50. boates, called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough, but yet of a good proportion, being about 8. yardes long, and one in bredth, hauing a beake head, and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the outside artificially carued, and painted red, and blewe: they are able to carry 20. or 30. men, but they are about the coast able to carry three score and vpwards. In these Canoas they rowe standing vpright, with an ower somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a man's hand, of the largest sort. They rowe very swift, and in some of them foure rowers, and one to steere, make as much way as a paire of oares in the Thames of London. Their Townes are prettily diuided, with a maine streete at the entering in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another overthwart streete, which maketh their townes crosse waies: their houses are built in a rank very orderly in the face of the streete, and they are made round, like a doue cote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaues, insteede of a wall: they are not much more than a fathome large, and two of heighth, and thatched with Palmito leaues very close, other some with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a rounde bundle of reede pretily contrined like a louer:<sup>2</sup> in the inner part, they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their prouision of victuals: a place they reserue at their entrance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is diuided with certaine mats artificially made with the rine

The forme  
of their  
townes.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the modern Sherboro Island, in 7° 30' N.

<sup>2</sup> Bower?

of Palmito trees : their bedsteedes are of small stanes, laide along, and raised a foote from the ground, vpon which is laide a matte, and another vpon them when they list : for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the Towne there is a house, larger and higher then the other, but in form alike, adioyning vnto the which, there is a place made of four goode stancions of woode, and a rounde rooffe ouer it, the grounde raised round with claye, a foot high, vpon the which floore were strawed many fine mats : this is the consultation house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portingals affirme : in which place, when they sit in Counselle, the King or Captaine sitteth in the middes, and the Elders vpon the floore by him : (for they give reuerence to their Elders,) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with to steale but a Portingall clothe from another, he is sold to the Portingals for a slaue. They consult also, and take order what tyme they shall go to warres : and as it is certainly reported by the Portingals, they take order in gathering of fruites in the season of the yeere, and also for receiuing of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cutte in the toppe of a tree, and a gorde set for the receauing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yieldeth freshe wine againe within a moneth, and this diuided, part and portion like to euery man, by the iudgment of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himself contented : and this surely I iudge to be a very good order, for otherwise, where scarcitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same, which might breede great strife : but for such things, as euery man doth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his own vse, so that nothing is common but that which is vnset by man's hands. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Enats, and other greater, of black and blewe colour, of neere a foot long, besides their tailes, then there is with



Mise in great houses. The Sapiés and Samboses also, vse in their wars bowes and arrowes, made of reedes, with heads of yron poisoned with the iuce of a Cucumber, whereof I haue had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target men, with broade wicker targets, and dark with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two-edged sworde, a foote and a halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length, made to counterpease it, that in casting, it might flee level, rather than for any other purpose, as I can iudge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheer his men crieth, *Hungry*, and they answer *Heygre*, and with that euery man placeth himselfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themselves, and shoote as they see aduantage, and when they giue the onset they make such terrible cryes that they may be heard two miles off. For their beleefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as they themselues imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof we saw some like vnto Diuels. In this Island aforesaide, we sojourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certain Negroes, and of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well carry away (whereof there was such store that we might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith), we departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being desirous to goe a shoare, to fetch Pompions, which having prooued, they found to be very good, certaine of the Tygers men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellows hauing fet many, and carried them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellowes to tarry, while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for himselfe, who being more licorous than circumspect, went up without weapon, and as he went vp alone, possibly being marked of the Negroes that were vpon the trees, espying him what he

The extreme  
negligence  
of one of the  
companie.

did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupied in binding his Pom-pions together, came behind him, overthrowing him, and straight cut his throat, as he afterwards was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns pin-  
The Riuer  
Callowsa.  
 nesse, and Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two shippes, the Riuers being twentie leagues in, where the Portingals roade: he came the five and twentieth, and dispatched his busines, and so returned with two Carauels, loaden with Negroes.

The 27 the Captaine being aduertised by the Portingals, of a Towne of the Negroes, called Bymba, being in the  
The towne  
Bymba.  
 way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not aboue fortie men, and a hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if he would giue the aduerture vppon the same, he might gette a hundreth slaues: with the which tydings hee beeing gladde, because the Portingals should not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that he durst to giue them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more prouoked with the prosperous successe he had in other Islands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate 20. together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure howres, to see what he could doe: and therefore prepared his men in armour, and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portingals, in a boate, who  
Portingals  
not to be  
trusted.  
 brought some of them to their death: we landing boate after boate, and diuers of our men scattering themselues, contrarie to the Captaines will, by one or two in a companie, for the hope they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negroes came

upon them, and some many being thus scattered, whereas of five or six that were together, they had bene such as their companies did to give the overthrow to 40. of them, and being driven down to take their boates, were followed so hard by a multitude of negroes, who by that took advantage to pursue them to their boates, that not only some of them, but others swimming a shore, not looking for any such manner by means that the Negroes did lie at the first, and our companies remained in the towne, were suddenly so set upon, that some with great hurte recovered their boates: other some not able to recover the same, took the water, and perished by means of the oaze. While this was a doing, the Captaine, who with a dozen men went forth the Towne, returned, finding 200. Negroes at the water side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in peeces, which were drowned in the water, at whose coming they ranne all away: so he entered his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely, and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe, somewhat discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise manner, with countenance very cheerful outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in peeces for it done to this ende, that the Portingals, being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance, for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten Negroes and lost seven of our best men, whereof Master Field, Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27. of our men hurt. In the same howse, while this was a doing, there happened at the same instant, a meruelous miracle to them in the shippes, who roade ten leagues to seaward, by many sharks or Tuberons, who came about the ships, among which one was taken by the Iesus, and foure by the

Salomon, and one very sore hurt, escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Iesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the 5. hauing 20. wounds, was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

The 28. they came to their ships, the Iesus and the Salomon, and the 30. departed from thence to Taggarin. Taggarin

The first of Januarie, the two barkes, and both the boates January. forsooke the ships, and went into a riuer, called the Cas- The riuer Casserroe seroes, and the 6. hauing dispatched their busines, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two daies after the comming of the two shippes thither, they put their water caske a shoare, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to haue filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some a shoare, and some at their boates, the Negroes set vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut off the hoopcs of twelue butts, which lost us 4. or 5. dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: soiourning at Taggarin, the Swallowe went up the riuer about her traffike, where they saw great townes of the Negroes, and Canoas, that had three score men in a Very great Canoes. peece: there they vnderstood of the Portingals, of a great battell, betweene them of the Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona had prepared 300 canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not past 6. daies after our departure from thence, which we would haue seene, to the intent we might haue taken some of them, had it not been for the death and sicknes of our men, which came by the contagiousness of the place, which made vs to make haste away.

The 18. of Januarie at night, we departed from Tagarrin, The contiglon of the country Sierra Leona. being bound to the West Indiaes, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went a shoare, to fil water in the night, and as they came a shoare with their boate, being ready to leape a land, one of them espied a Negroe in a

white coate, standing upon a rocke, being ready to haue receaued them, when they came a shoare, hauing in sight of his fellowes also, eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves straight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their shippes, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them as then was in deede. Which the next day we understood of a Portingall, that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negroes, by whome he understoode, that the King of Sierra Leona had made all the power he could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kind of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had news before our comming, and as I iudge also, vpon other occasions pronoked by the Tangomangoes, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by means that in the euening we sawe such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seen, which fire is the onely mark for the Tangomangoes to know where their armie is alwaies. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that we were a shoare filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him wee escaped without danger, his name bee praysed for it.

**Tangoman-  
goes.**      **Februarie.**      The 29. of the same moneth, we departed with all our ships from the Sierra Leona, towards the West Indias, where for the space of 21. daies, wee were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrarie windes, and some Ternados amongst the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, being but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negroes, and our selues, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare, that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indias, without great death

of Negroes, and of themselves : but Almighty God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteene of Februarie, the ordinarie Briesse, which is the Northwest winde, which never left us, till we came to an Island of the Cannibals, called Sancta Dominica, where we arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday : and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Cannibals, but some of their houses, where they dwelled, and as it should seeme, forsooke the place, for want of freshe water, for we coulde finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hils, and remayned as a puddle in the dale, whereof we filled for our Negroes. The Cannibals of that Island, and also others adiacent, are the most desperate warriors that are in the Indias, by the Spaniards report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Islands : of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Islande, a Carauell being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the Inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driuen a shoare, and so taken by them and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in Marche also, came to one of those Islands, called Granado, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same, for the Cannibals, who fought with him very desperately two daies. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the deserted place in all the Island, we could not haue missed, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reportes, who make them Deuils in respect of men.

The tenth day, at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos : And the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where we were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both beeuies and sheepe given us, for the refreshing of our men : but the Governour of the Island would neither come to speake with

Dominica  
Island.  
March.

Cannibals  
exceeding  
cruell, and  
to be  
auoided.

The Testi-  
gos Islands.  
Margarita  
Island.

our Captaine, neither yet give him any licence to traffike: and to displease vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilot, to have gone with vs. they would neither suffer him to goe with vs. but also sent word by a Caranell out of hand, to Santa Domingo, to the Viceroy, who doth represent the King's person, of our arrivall in those parts, which had like to have turned vs to great displeasure, by the means that the same Viceroy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them by the vertue of his authoritie, and the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should traffike with vs, but should resist vs with all the force they could.<sup>1</sup> In this Island, notwithstanding that we were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not only the Governour himselfe, but also all the Inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them, and fled into the mountains, as we were partly certified, and also saw the experience ourselves, by some of the Indians comming to see vs. who by three Spaniards a horseback passing hard by vs. went unto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conversant with vs. Here perceauing no traffike to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, wee were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the two and twentieth, we came to a place in the mayne, called Kenimnawe, whither the Captaine going in his pinnesse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whome he demanded traffike, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to buy one Negroe: where-upon he asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Sancta Fee, where we found maruellous goodly watring, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboard the shoare 20. fathome water.

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio de Osorio was President and Captain-General of San Domingo in 1564.

Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came downe to vs, presenting mill and cakes of bread, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maise, in bignes of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a span in length, hauing theron a number of graines. Also they brought downe to vs which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, kniues, and other trifles, Hennes, Potatoes and pines. These potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe far exceede their passeneps or carots. Their pines be of the bignes of two fistes, the outside whereof is of the making of a pineapple, but it is soft like the rinde of a coucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweete apple sugred. These Indians be of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing every one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging down to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but daily puls it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a threede about his loins, leauing the other parts of their members vncouered, whereof they take no shame. The women also vncouered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a hand-breadth, wherewith they couer their privities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for trauellling they carry but two small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell, whereof they haue great store, and in the other flowre of their Maise, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men carie euery man his bowes and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a cane together, which cane is of the bignesse of a mans

The vse of  
Sorrell.



arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they strike fishe in the water : the experience thereof we sawe not once nor twice, but daily for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselves and their horses with quilted canuas of two inches thicke, and leaue no place of their bodie open to their enemies, sauing their eyes, which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so

The making  
of their  
poison.

small a scantling : their poison is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith, dieth within foure and twentie howres, as the Spaniards doe affirme, and in my iudgment it is like there can bee no stronger poyson as they make it, vsing thereunto apples which are very fair, and red of colour, but are a strong poison, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders, and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The maners  
of the yong  
women.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging breasts, which they account to bee great deforming in them, and vpon that occasion while they be yong, they destroy their seede, saying that it is fitted for olde women. Moreover, when they are deliured of childe, they goe straight to washe themselves, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they carie about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people bee surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceable, or else had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peacable, they being many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maineland and the island

lled Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our The Isle of Tortuga.  
 and God one thousand five hundred sixtie five aforesaid,  
 sailed along the coast vntil the first of Aprill, at which  
 the Captaine sayled along in the Jesus pinnace to dis-  
 cover the coast, and saw many Caribes a shore, and some  
 in their Canowas, which made tokens vnto him of  
 friendship, and showed him golde, meaning thereby that  
 they would traffique for wares. Whereupon hee stayed to  
 see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles gaue  
 such things as they had about them, and departed: but  
 the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come a  
 shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to  
 traffique with them, he would not haue denied them,  
 because the Indians we sawe before were very gentle  
 people, and such as doe no man hurt. But as God would  
 vnto it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would  
 haue bene his confusion: for there were no kinde of people  
 we tooke them to bee, but more deuclish a thousand  
 partes, and are eaters and deuourers of any man they  
 catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Burboroata  
 by a Carauell comming out of Spaine with certaine soul-  
 diours and a captain generall sent by the king for those  
 Eastward parts of the Indians, who sailing along in his pin-  
 nace as our Captaine did to descric the Coast, was by the  
 Caribes called a shore with sundrie tokens made to him of  
 friendship, and golde shewed as though they desired  
 traffique, with the which the Spaniardes being moued, sus-  
 pecting no deceite at all, went a Shore amongst them, who  
 was no sooner a shore, but with 4. or 5. more was taken,  
 the rest of his company being inuaded by them, saued  
 themselues by flight, but they that were taken, paid their  
 ransome with their liues, and were presently eaten. And The cruel-  
tie of the  
Caribes.  
 this is their practice to toll with their golde the ignorant  
 to their snares: they are bloudsuckers both of Spaniards,  
 Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their

owne countrymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their pollicie in fight with the Spaniards is maruellous: for they choose for their refuge the mountaines and woods where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, And if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horseman may ouerunne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they show themselues politike warriours. They haue more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards haue, and line vpon the mountains where the mines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure enough.

Thus hauing escaped the daunger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of Aprill to <sup>whence</sup> a Towne called Burborosta,<sup>1</sup> where his ships came to an anchor, and hee himselfe went a shore to speeke with the Spaniards, to whome he declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of merchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to traffique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therefore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their hands, because they were subjects, and might not goe beyond the law. But he replied that his necessitie was such he might not so doe: for being in one of the Queens Armados of England, and hauing many souldiours in them, he had neede both of some refreashing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which he could not depart, and

<sup>1</sup> Barbunata, on the coast of Venezuela.

with much other talke persuaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither could he commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, vnlesse hee were too rigorously delt withall, which he hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redounde to their profite, as his owne, and also he thought they might do it without daunger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our partes wee had free trafique in Spaine and Flaunders, which are in his dominions, and therefore hee knew the reason why he should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniardes made answer, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a Gouvernour to whom the gouernment of those partes was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their Gouvernour who was three score leagues off, and would return answer within the space appointed, of his mind.

In the meane time they were contented he should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon, the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the Captaine advised himselfe that to remain there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and men's wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answer from the Gouvernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine lean and sicke Negroes which he had in his shippe like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing litle or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well inough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take: which request

being put in writing and presented, the officers and town-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, graunted him licence for thirtie Negroes, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should grant to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made show that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governour his answeare because they would keepe themselues blamelesse, or for any other pollicie he knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, maruelling what the matter was that none came to buie them. They answered, because they had graunted licence onely to the poore to buie those Negroes of small price, and their money was not so readie as other mens of more wealth.

More then that, as soone as euer they saw the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to bic, and would not confesse if he had licence, that hee might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were woorth in other places, did send for the Principals of the Towne, and made a show hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sorry that hee had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the Gouvernour to come downe, seeing now his pretence was to depart, whereat they maruelled much, and asked him what cause mooued him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibi-

itie to haue his licence. To the which he replied that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profite, which hee perceiued was not there to be had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he paid for his Negroes, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and men's wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charge, hee must sell his Negroes for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there than in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he should not lose his labour in tarrying, for they would buie without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine, being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that he might make sale of his leane Negroes, which they granted vnto. And the next day did sell some of them, who hauing bought and paid for them, thinking to haue had a discharge of the Customer for the custome of the Negroes, being the King's dutie, they gaue it away to the poore for God's sake, and did refuse to giue the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, leaste hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing els was done ontill the Gouvernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queen's maiesties of England, beyng bound to Guinie, and thither drinen by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Naue, and also great neede of money for the paiement of his Souldiours, vnto whom he had promised paiement, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, and for that purpose requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negroes, declaring hat although they were forbidden to traffique with straungers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their

princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highnesse, hee thought he might doe their prince great service, and that it would be well taken at his handes to doe it in this cause. The which allegations, with diuers others put in request, were presented vnto the Gouvernour who sitting as counsell for that matter, granted vnto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings custome, being vpon euery slaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

An hundred  
Englishmen  
in armour.

Whereupon the captain perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the kings custome of that they offered, so that either hee must bee a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings custome which was too vnreasonable, for to a higher price hee could not bring the buiers. Therefore the sixteenth of Aprill hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebusses and pikes, with the which hee marched to the towne wardes, and beyng perceiued by the Gouvernour, hee straight with all expedition sent messengers to know his request, desiring him to marche no further forward vntill hee had answere againe, which incontinent he should haue. So our captaine declaring how vnreasonable a thing the kings custome was, requesting to haue the same abated, and to pay seuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie custome for wares thorough his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, he would displease them. And this worde beyng caried to the Gouvernour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the soldiours and mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demaunded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, we departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the same without

disturbance. Thus hauing made traffique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because now the common sort hauing imploied their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buie, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare lest we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie we being at anker without the roade, a French shippe called the Greene Dragon of New-hanen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the manner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of ordinaunce, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that he had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portingals Gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion, besides the Captaine Daue Carlet and a merchaunt with a doozen mariners betrayed by the Negroes at their first arriual thither, and remaining prisoners with the Portingals, besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened thorough the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships, which was most sorowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The reports  
of the mis-  
haps of the  
Minion in  
Guinie.

Thus hauing ended our traffique here the 4. of May, wee departed, leauing the French man behind us, the night before the which, the Caribes whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canowes to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, than their custome was, perceiving them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by means their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses readie sadled, in the night set vpon

Horses  
ready  
sadled.



them, and tooke one, the rest making shift for themselves, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion upon them, had for his trauell a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

The sixt of May aforesayd, wee came to an Island called Curasoa,<sup>1</sup> where wee had thought to haue ankred, but could not find ground, and hauing let fall an anker with two cables, were faine to weie it againe, and the 7. sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and could finde none, came to an anker where wee rode open in the sea. In this place wee had traffique for Hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that saving the skinner, we had the flesh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundaunt, that the worst in the ship thought scorn not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate vnrosted.

The increase of Cattell in this Island is maruellous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the Gouvernour, in 25. yeeres had 100. thousand at the least, and of other Cattell was able to kill without spoile of the increase 15. hundred yeerely, which he killeth for the skinner, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest he leaueth to the foule to deuour. And this I am able to affirme, not vpon the Gouverneurs owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, and so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I sawe myselte in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, sauing the skin and tongue taken away, and it is not so maruelous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the Islands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate

<sup>1</sup> Now is thirty miles long by ten. It was first settled in 1527 by Charles V. and was captured by the Dutch in 1632.

fruit and meates inough besides to feed vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleewe, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an Island called by the finders thereof, Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of Cattell, and such increase thereof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not able to asswage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wild dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountains that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no maruell, for the said Island is almost as big as all England, and being the first place that was found of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, and therefore it ought of reason to be most populous, and to this hower the Viceroy and Counsell roiall, abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet have they but one citie and 13. villages in all the same Island, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth we departed from Curasoa, being not a little to the reioicing of our Captaine and vs, that we had there ended our traffique, for notwithstanding our sweetemeate we had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastest whereby our ankers being agrounde, then at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to haue ankerhold, sometimes a whole day and a night turning vp and downe, and this happened not once, but halfe a doozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. we passed by an Island called Aruba,<sup>1</sup> and the 17 at night ankred 6. howers at the West end of Cabo de La Vela, and in the morning being the 18. weied againe, keep-

<sup>1</sup> A little island fourteen leagues west of Curaçoa.

ing our course, in the which time the captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnace, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who told him how farre off he was from Rio de la Hacha,<sup>1</sup> which because he would not overshoot, ankered that night againe, and the 19. came thither, where hauing talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, declared his quiet traffique in Burboroata, and shewed a certificate of the same, made by the gouernour thereof, and therefore he desired to haue the like there also: but the treasurer made answer that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and counsell of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coast, did send expresse commission to resist vs, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not traffique with vs in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did traffique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our captaine replied, that he was in an Armado of the Queenes maiesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driuen besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those partes, where he hoped to find such friendship as he should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof he knew no reason in that there was amitie betwixt their princes.

But seeing they would contrary to all reson goe about to withstand his traffique, he would it should not be said by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his traffique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whether he or they should haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: so vpon this it was determined hee should haue licence to trade, but

<sup>1</sup> So called from the first Spanish settlers having given the Indians a hatchet to show them where water might be found. The mouth of the Rio de la Hacha, in 11° 31' 30" N., is famous for its pearl fishery.

they would give him such a price as was the most profitable as he had sold for before. and thus they went what they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him that he might do what he would for they were not intended to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon the Captaine saying their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter that they delt too rigorously with him. at first adding to the his throte in the price of his commodities which were at reasonable rated, as they could not be by a great deale more like at any other mans hands. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakfast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, he shot of a white culver muskummon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour went a shore, having in his great boate two falcons of brasse, and in the other boates double cases in their noses, which being perceived by the townemen, they incontinent in battell arose with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the number of sixtymen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries and waving vs a shott, whereby they make a semblance to have fought with vs in deede. But our captaine perceauing them so bragge, commanded the two falcons to bee discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, as they afterwards declared, such great pieces in a boate. At every shotte they fell flatte to the ground, and as we approached neere vnto them, they broke their arraie, and dispersed themselves so much for feare of the ordinaunce, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as braue a shew as might be, coming vp and downe with their horses, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their Jauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when we landed, they gaue ground, and consulted what they should

H. Jones  
no other  
the town  
sent of 1  
in a letter

doe, for litle they thought we would haue landed so boldly : and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the treasurer marvelled what he went to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had graunted to enery reasonable request that hee did demaund : but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger praied him to stay his men, and said if he would come apart from his men, the treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto he did agree to common together. The Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the treasurer on horseback with his Janeling, was afraid to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse then his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, graunted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to haue pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwise, when they had made themselves stronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs : and seeing that now they might haue what they would request, they iudged it to be more wisdome to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were sent, and we made our traffique quietly with them. In the meantime while we staid here, we watred a good bredth off from the shore, whereby the strēgth of the fresh water running into the sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this riuer we saw many crocodils of sūdry bignesses, but some as big as a boat with 4. feet, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skin is so hard, that a sword will not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frog doth, but he is a great deuourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beasts, nor men, if he take them, as the prooffe thereof was knowen

by a Negroe, who as he was filling water in the riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer seene after. His nature is euer when he would haue his praie, to crie, and sobbe like a christian bodie, to prouoke them to come to him, and then he snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is appleid vnto women when they weepe, *Lachryma Crocodili*, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when he crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the master of the *Jesus* watched one and by the bankes side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after 3. or 4. times turning in sight, he sunke downe, and was not afterwards seene. In the time of our being in the riuers of Guinie, we saw many of a monstrous bignes, amongst the which the Captaine being in one of the barks comming downe the same, shot a faulcon at one, which very narrowly he missed, and with a feare plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before wee departed, or for any treason that they pretended towards vs, I am not able to say, but there came thither a captaine from some of the other townes, with a doozen souldiers, who vpon a time that our Captaine and the treasurer cleared all things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernours of *Burboroota*, which was to be paid by the said treasurer, who would not answere the same by any meanes. Certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately commaund his men in armour both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the Riuer on the backe side of the towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be

judged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of  
 him, that comming vpon the sudden, he might haue mis-  
 cheued many of his men, but the captaine hauing vnder-  
 standing thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they  
 might haue the aduantage, departed aboard his ships, and  
 at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other  
 talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that  
 order, and they answered, that their captaine being come  
 to towne, did muster his men according to his accustomed  
 manner. But it is to bee iudged to bee a cloake, in that  
 coming for the purpose he might haue done it sooner, but  
 the trueth is, they were not of force vntil then, whereby to  
 enterprise any matter against vs, by means of pikes and  
 harquebusses, whereof they haue want, and were now fur-  
 nished by our captaine, and also 3. faulcons, which hauing  
 got in other places, they had secretly conueied thither, which  
 made them the bolder and also for that they saw now a con-  
 uenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing there-  
 unto, by the means that our men were not only vnarmed  
 and vnprouided, as at no time before the like but also were  
 occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any  
 harme: there were occasions to prouoke them thereunto.  
 And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect in that  
 I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of  
 no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour  
 to the treasurer's house, whereof I marvelled, and reuoking  
 to minde the former talke betweene the captaine and him,  
 and the vnreadinesse of our men, of whom aduantage might  
 haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediately to  
 giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by  
 a slight shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere  
 vs, being sent, as we did guess, to stay vs least we should  
 arise neuer to our captaine. But seeing vs so neere our  
 men started their horses running together, and suffering  
 vs to passe, tillke then as we were so neere, that if they

e author  
 this  
 sue.

had gone about the same they had been espied by some of our men which then immediately would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espy what we did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspicion might be had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Capitaine that standing in doubt of their curtesie, he returned in the morning with his 3. boates, appointed with bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he carried none, and thus dissembling all iniuries conceined of both partes, the capitaine went a shore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouernours debt, which the one by no means would answere, nor the other, because it was not his due debt, he would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two barkes which rode near the shore to weie and goe vnder saile, which was done to the intent that the capitaine demaunding a testimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the same vntill he were vnder the saile readie to depart, and therefore at night went for the same againe, and receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very curteously he tooke his leave, and departed shooting of the bases of his boate for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure faulcons and thirtie harquebusses, and this was the first time that we knew of the conueyance of theyr faulcons.

The 31. of May we departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June we had sight of an Island, which we made to be Jamaica, maruelling that by the vehement course of the seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the Westend of Hispaniola we fell with the middle of Jamaica, notwithstanding that to



all mens sight it shewed a head land, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said Island. And a Spanyard being in the ship, who was a merchant, and inhabitant in Jamaica, hauing occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negroes, and afterwards bought by the Tangomangoes, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places, which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the end he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found ourselues at the West end of Jamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, so that by trusting of the Spanyard's knowledge, our captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would have done, as his custom was in other places, but this man was a plague not onely to our captaine, who made him loose, by ouershooting the place, two thousand pounds of hides, which he might have gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeares out of his countrey, and in great miserie in Guinie, both among the Negroes and Tangomangoes, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure account, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went a shoare he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his olde, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sayled all along, but it fell out euery, by one occasion or other, that we were put beside the same, so that he was fayne to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a Duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were beseiged, and were in great misery with hunger, and being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a

ushell of flower should be solde for a sickle,<sup>1</sup> would not beleue him, but thought it vnpossible: and for that cause **Elisseus** prophesied he should see the same done, but he should not eate thereof:<sup>2</sup> so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to have seene his owne countrey, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friendes according to his desire.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of June, being made to beleue by the Spaniard, that it was not Jamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the captaine also was, because that which he made Jamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Jamaica, and after certaine dayes, not finding the same perceiued then certainly that the Island which he was at before, was Jamaica, and that the clouds did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and the mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Jamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz,<sup>3</sup> where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: and thus being disappointed of two of his ports, where he thought to haue raised great profit by his traffike, and also to haue found great refreshing of victualles and water for his men, was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shoare to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certain Islands, in number two hundred, whereof the most part was deserted of inhabitants: by the which Islands the captaine passing in his pinnesse,

The deceit-  
full force of  
the current.

Two hund-  
red Islands,  
for the most  
part not in-  
habited.

<sup>1</sup> Shekel.

<sup>2</sup> II Kings, vii, 1, 2, 17.

<sup>3</sup> On the south coast, between Guanaco and the Bay of Matanzas.

could find no fresh water vntill he came to an Island bigger than all the rest, called the Isle of Pinas, where we ankered with our shippes the sixteenth of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the sea was brackish, yet did we not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then we should have beene another time with fine conduct water. Thus being reasonably watred we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very conuenient for such shippes of charge as they were, because there were many shoales leeward, and also lay open to the sea for any winde that should blowe, and therefore the capitaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedful: for little sooner were there ankers weyed, and foresayle set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest was faine for haste to cutte the cable in the hawse, and loose both anker and cable to saue herselfe.

The Cape of  
S. Anthony  
in Cuba.

Florida.

July.

The isles of  
Tortugas.

Thus the seuenteenth of June we departed and the twentieth fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Anthony, where for the space of three dayes, we doubled along till we came beyond the shoales, which are 20 leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary brese taking vs, which is the Northeast winde, put us the 24 from the shoare, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch winde, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the help of the current, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29. we found ourselues in 27 degrees, and in the soundings of Florida where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fathome water, having all the while no sight of land.

The fift of July we had sight of certaine Islandes of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the capitaine

went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of  
 birds, that in halfe an houre he loded her with them, and <sup>Great store</sup>  
 if they had bene tenne boates more, they might haue <sup>of birds.</sup>  
 done the like. These Islandes beare the name of Tortels  
 because of the number of them, which there doe breed,  
 whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land  
 also, but breed onely vpon the shoare, in making a great  
 pit wherein they lay egges to the number of three or foure  
 hundred, and couering them with sand, are hatched by the  
 heat of the sunne, and by this means commeth the great  
 increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue  
 both back and belly all of bone of the thickenesse of an  
 inch, the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale,  
 and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them,  
 but they did eat very swelly. Heere we ankered sixe  
 houres, and then springing a fayre gale of winde, we weyed  
 anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the  
 sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill <sup>A Hill</sup>  
 so called, because of the forme thereof: heere we lay off <sup>called the</sup>  
 and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to winde-  
 ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we  
 could haue done it, or else if the winde had come larger, to  
 haue plyed to windewarde to the Hauana, which is a har- <sup>The port of</sup>  
 borow wherevnto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and <sup>Havana.</sup>  
 doe there tarry to haue one the company of the other. This  
 hill we thinking to haue bene the Table, made account (as  
 it was indeed) the Hauana, to be but eight leagues to winde-  
 ward, but by the persuasion of a Frenchman, who made the  
 Captaine belieue he knew the Table very well, and had  
 bene at the Hauana, said that it was not the Table, and  
 that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side,  
 and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor  
 hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that be-  
 hinde the hilles to the Westward was the Hauana; to which  
 persuasion being giuen by some, and they not of the worst,

the captaine was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table, and perceiuing his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sorry, both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so farre to windewarde againe, which would haue bene with the weathering which we had 10 or 12 dayes worke, and what it would have beene longer he knew not, and that (which was worst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to go further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los porcos, which he was in doubt of both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoales he might haue such accesse with his shippes that he might conueniently take in the same: and while we were in those troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to runne into any further danger, which we had beene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no shippe escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards have very well prooued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a fayre Westerly winde, whereupon the Captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie whatsoeuer had happened, and taking the said winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot the Hauana, at the which place we thought to have watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knownen markes, we vnderstood that we had ouershotte it twentie leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no con-

uenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but  
 to dissemble, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for,  
 to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoales,  
 which are very dangerous, and because the currant shooteth  
 to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be  
 set vpon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so  
 making but reasonable way the day aforesaid and all night:  
 the 12 day in the morning, we fell with the Islands vpon the  
 cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes  
 that fearing the shoales to the Eastwards, and doubting the  
 currant comming out of the West, which was not of that  
 force we made account of, for we felt little or none till we  
 fell with the cape, and then felt such a currant, that bearing  
 all sailes against the same yet were driuen backe againe a  
 great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jesus  
 pinnesse, and the Sallomons boate, which were sent the  
 same day in the afternoone, while the shippes were be-  
 calmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands  
 aforesaid, who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither,  
 being farther off than they deemed it to be, and in the meane  
 time a fayre gale of winde springing at sea, the shippes de-  
 parted, making a signe to them to come away, who although  
 they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shoare  
 would not loose all the labour they had taken, but deter-  
 mined to keepe theyr way, and see if there were any water  
 to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well  
 enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water  
 which they had founde that the night was come before they  
 could make an end, and hauing lost the sight of the shippes,  
 rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way  
 they should seeke them againe, as in deede there was a  
 more doubt than they knew of. For when they departed,  
 the shippes were in no currant, and sayling but a mile  
 further, found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could  
 not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: where-

The state of  
 the currant  
 of Florida.

upon the captaine sent the Sallomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shoare all night, because the currant was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boates might better knowe how to come to them.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppegallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the shippes and barks forsook not, but to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vain, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past, and therefore determined to tarry no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the currant) was carryed almost out of sight, but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them up: they in the boates, being to the number of one and twentie, hauing sight of the shippes, and seeing them tacking about, whereas before at the first sight of them did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexetie than euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to have found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselues hauing no victualles but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestowe any further time in seeking the shippes than that present noone time, so that if they had not at that instant espyed them, then had they gone to the shoare to haue made prouision for victualles, and with such thinges as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the Frenchmen are (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victualles to bring them thither, being one hundred and twentie leagues off) or els to haue remayned amongst the Floridians, at whose

landes they were put in comfort by a French man who was with them, that had remayned in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victualles sufficient and gentle intertainement, if neede were, for a yeere or two, vntil which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to theyr expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida, are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest, which the Spanyards well proued, who being fne hundred men, who intended then to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same, and of theyr cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a fryer, who taking vpon him to persuaade the people to subiection, was by them taken with his skinne cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being ashoare, found a dead man dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodyes of men, so that those sorte of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The fourteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them news of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioicing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on theyr way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from six and twentie degrees to thirtie degrees and half, where the Frenchmen are, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we woulde ouershoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the shippes pinnesse sayled along the shoare, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because he would vnderstand where the Frenchmen inhabited, and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees as it was declared vnto him, mar-

M. Hawkins  
ranged all  
the coast of  
Florida.



uelled thereat, and neuer left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standeth in thirtie degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was maruellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. Thero they found sorrell to growe as abundantly as grasse, and nere theyr houses were great store of mayis and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also deere great plenty, which came vpon the sands before them. Theyr houses are not many together, for in one house a hundred of them do lodge: they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for it hath stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and couered with Palmito leaues, hauing no place diuided, but one small roome for their King and Queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth where they make great fyres all night, and vpon certaine pieces of wood hoven in for the bowing of their backes, and another place made high for theyr heads, they lye vpon the same which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fieldes, where they dresse their meat, and make prouision for victualles, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negroes doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another, and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In theyr apparell the men onely vse deere skinnnes, wherewith some onely couer their priny members, other some use the same as garments to couer them before and behinde, which skinnnes are painted, some yellow and red, some black and russett, and euery man

The riuer of  
May.

Florida  
found to be  
cut in Is-  
lands.

Sorrell.

The commo-  
dities of  
Florida.

The houses  
of Florida.

The maner  
of kindling  
of fire in  
Florida.

according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antique worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuisseth, which painting, to haue it continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better holde. In their warres they vse a slighter couler of painting their faces, thereby to make themselues shew the more fierce: which after their warres ended they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kinde of yew, but blacker then ours, but many passing the strength of the Negroes or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours; their arrowes also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points both for length, and also for nocks and fethers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedly: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked pointes of kniues, which hauing gotten of the Frenchmen, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of siluer, other some that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which perceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous pollicie for their owne safegarde, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this pollicy they vsed with the Frenchmen in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some pollicy: and although they are called by the Spanyards "Gente-triste",<sup>1</sup> that is to say, sad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the Frenchmen found them so witty in their answers, that by the captaines owne report, a counsellour with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The women also in their apparell vse painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the

<sup>1</sup> "Gente triste", a sad people.

same surpleswise, wearing their haire downe to theyr shoulders, like the Indians.

The French  
fort.

Monsieur  
Laudonier.

Bread made  
of acornes.

In this riuer of May aforesaid the captain entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourscore tunne, and two pinnesses of fifteen tunne a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which theyr capitaine Mounsieur Laudonier was, with certaine souldiers therein. To whom our capitaine sending to vnderstand of a watring place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fise leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barkes, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our capitaine went, where he was by the general, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently intertained, and declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was 14 months, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them, in which place they being 200. men at their first comming, had in short space eaten al the mayis they could buy of the inhabitants about them and therefore were driuen certeine of them to seruo a king of the Floridians against other of his enemies for milk and other victualles, which hauing gotten, could not serue them, being so many so long a time, but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acornes, which being stamped small, and often washed to take away the bitterness of them, did vse the same for bread, eating withall sundry times rootes, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serue rather for medicines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paynes so much as to fish in the riuer before theyr doores, but would haue all thinges put in theyr mouthes, did rebel agaynst the

bushell of flower should be solde for a sickle,<sup>1</sup> would not beleene him, but thought it vnpossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied he should see the same done, but he should not eate thereof:<sup>2</sup> so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to have seene his owne countrey, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friendes according to his desire.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of June, being made to beleue by the June.

Spanyard, that it was not Jamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the captaine also was, because that which he made Jamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the currant, he could not beleue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Jamaica, and after certaine dayes, not finding the same perceiued then certainly that the Island which he was at before, was Jamaica, and that the clouds did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and the mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Jamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz,<sup>3</sup> where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: and thus being disappointed of two of his ports, where he thought to haue raised great profit by his traffike, and also to haue found great refreshing of victualles and water for his men, was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shoare to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpasse with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certain Islands, in number two hundred, whereof the most part was deserted of inhabitants: by the which Islands the captaine passing in his pinnesse,

The decei  
full force  
the curra:

Two hun  
red Islan  
for the m  
part not  
habited.

<sup>1</sup> Shekel.

<sup>2</sup> II Kings, vii, 1, 2, 17.

<sup>3</sup> On the south coast, between Guanco and the Bay of Matanzas.

and going twentie harquebussees in a company, were set vpon by eightene kings, hauing seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and droue them all downe to theyr boats, whose pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at, for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies, which were armed, and perceiving that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces & legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty souldiors left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour, for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity oure captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrells of meale, and four pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare, and to helpe them the better homewards whither they were bound before our comming, at their request, we spared them one of our barks of fifty tunnes. Not-

The French  
greatly re-  
lied by M.  
Hawkins.

withstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the same, but they being souldiours, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, deere maruellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man might liue, hauing corne or mayis wherewith to make

Twentie  
hogsheads  
of wine  
made in  
Florida like  
to the wine  
of France.

went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of  
 birds, that in halfe an houre he loded her with them, and <sup>Great store  
of birds.</sup>  
 if they had beene tenne boates more, they might haue  
 done the like. These Islandes beare the name of Tortels  
 because of the number of them, which there doe breed,  
 whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land  
 also, but breed onely upon the shoare, in making a great  
 pit wherein they lay egges to the number of three or foure  
 hundred, and couering them with sand, are hatched by the  
 heat of the sunne, and by this means commeth the great  
 increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue  
 both back and belly all of bone of the thickenesse of an  
 inch, the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale,  
 and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them,  
 but they did eat very swelly. Heere we ankered sixe  
 houres, and then springing a fayre gale of winde, we weyed  
 anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the  
 sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill <sup>A Hill  
called the  
Table.</sup>  
 so called, because of the forme thereof: heere we lay off  
 and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to winde-  
 warde, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we  
 could haue done it, or else if the winde had come larger, to  
 haue plyed to windewarde to the Hauana, which is a har- <sup>The port of  
Hauana.</sup>  
 barow wherevnto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and  
 doe there tarry to haue one the company of the other. This  
 hill we thinking to haue bene the Table, made account (as  
 it was indeed) the Hauana, to be but eight leagues to winde-  
 ward, but by the persuation of a Frenchman, who made the  
 Captaine belieue he knew the Table very well, and had  
 beene at the Hauana, said that it was not the Table, and  
 that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side,  
 and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor  
 hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that be-  
 hinde the hilles to the Westward was the Hauana; to which  
 persuation being giuen by some, and they not of the worst,

the captaine was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table. and perceining his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sorry, both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so farre to windewarde againe, which would haue bene with the weathering which we had 10 or 12 dayes worke, and what it would haue beene longer he knew not, and that (which was worst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to go further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los porcos, which he was in doubt of both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoales he might haue such accesse with his shippes that he might conueniently take in the same: and while we were in those troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to runne into any further danger, which we had beene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous by reports) that no shippe escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards haue very well prooued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a fayre Westerly winde, whereupon the Captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie whatsoever had happened, and taking the said winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot the Hauana, at the which place we thought to haue watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knownen markes, we vnderstood that we had ouershotte it twentie leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no con-

uenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but  
 to dissemble, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for,  
 to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoales,  
 which are very dangerous, and because the currant shooteth  
 to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be  
 set vpon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so  
 making but reasonable way the day aforesaid and all night:  
 the 12 day in the morning, we fell with the Islands vpon the  
 cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes  
 that fearing the shoales to the Eastwards, and doubting the  
 currant comming out of the West, which was not of that  
 force we made account of, for we felt little or none till we  
 fell with the cape, and then felt such a currant, that bearing  
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 pinnesse, and the Sallomons boate, which were sent the  
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 calmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands  
 aforesaid, who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither,  
 being farther off than they deemed it to be, and in the meane  
 time a fayre gale of winde springing at sea, the shippes de-  
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 rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way  
 they should seeke them againe, as in deede there was a  
 more doubt than they knew of. For when they departed,  
 the shippes were in no currant, and sayling but a mile  
 further, found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could  
 not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: where-

The state  
 the currant  
 of Florida



Beastes.

Of beastes in this country, besides Deere, Foxes, Hares, Pollicats, Cunnies, Ownces, Leopards, I am not able certainly to say: but it is thought that there are Lions and Tygers as well as Unicornes, Lions especially, if it bee true that it is said of the enmity betweene them and the Unicornes. For there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the Cunny the Polcat, a Sheepe the Wolfe, the Elephant the Rinoceros, and so of other beastes the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue made mention of the beastes of this Countrey, it shal not be from my purpose to speak also of the venomous beastes, as Crocodiles, whereof there is a great abundance, Adders of great bignesse, wherof our men killed some of a yard and a halfe longe. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, vpon

Faulcons in Florida.

Serpents.

which a Faulcon seazing, the saide adder did clasp her taile about her, which the French Captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder, and this faulcon being wilde hee did reclaime her, and kept her for the space of 2. months, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feede to no litle admiration of vs, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meate. And the Captaine of the Frenchmen saw also a Serpent with 3. heads and 4. feete, of the bignesse of a great Spaniell, which for want of a harquebusse he durst not attempt to slay. Of the fishe also they haue in the riuer, pike, roche, salmon, troute, and diuers other small fishes, and of a great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, hauing a snoute much like a sworde of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes which wee sawe comming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sorte whereof haue four winges, but the other haue but two. Of these we sawe comming out of Guinea, a hundredreth in a companie, which being chased by the Gilt heads, otherwise called the Bonitoes, doe to auoide them the better

Andes they were put in comfort by a French man who was with them, that had remayned in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victualles sufficient and gentle intertainement, if neede were, for a yeere or two, vntil which time God might haue provided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to theyr expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida, are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest, which the Spanyards well proued, who being five hundred men, who intended then to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same, and of theyr cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a fryer, who taking vpon him to perswade the people to subiection, was by them taken with his skinne cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being ashoare, found a dead man dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodyes of men, so that those sorte of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The fourteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them news of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioicing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on theyr way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from six and twentic degrees to thirtie degrees and half, where the Frenchmen are, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we woulde ouershoote no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the shippes pinnesse sayled along the shoare, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because he would vnderstand where the Frenchmen inhabited, and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees as it was declared vnto him, mar-

M. Haw  
ranged  
the coast  
Florida.

uelled thereat, and neuer left sailing along the coast till it found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standeth in thirtie degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be an Island and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was maruellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among them. There they found sorrell to growe as abundantly as grasse and nere they houses were great store of mayis and mill and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also deere great plenty, which came vpon the sands before them. Theyr houses are not many together, for in one house a hundred of them do lodge: they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for it hath stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and couered with Palmito leaues, hauing no place diuided, but one small roome for their King and Queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth where they make great fyres all night, and vpon certaine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backes, and another place made high for theyr heads, they lye vpon the same which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fieldes, where they dresse their meat, and make prouision for victualles, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negroes doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another, and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In theyr apparell the men onely vse deere skinner, wherewith some onely couer their priuy members, other some use the same as garments to couer them before and behinde, which skinner are painted, some yellow and red, some black and russett, and euery man

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of fire in  
Florida.

according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antique worke, as every man in his owne fancy deviseth, which painting, to haue it continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better holde. In their warres they vse a slighter couler of painting their faces, thereby to make themselues shew the more fierce: which after their warres ended they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kinde of yew, but blacker then ours, but many passing the strength of the Negroes or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours; their arrowes also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points both for length, and also for nocks and fethers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very steddy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked pointes of kniues, which hauing gotten of the Frenchmen, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of siluer, other some that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which perceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous pollicie for their owne safegarde, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this pollicy they vsed with the Frenchmen in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some pollicy: and although they are called by the Spanyards "*Gente-triste*",<sup>1</sup> that is to say, sad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the Frenchmen found them so witty in their answers, that by the captaines owne report, a counsellour with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The women also in their apparell vse painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the

<sup>1</sup> "*Gente triste*", a sad people.

Their arrival in the month of September, 1566.

for anything at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such goode intertainment at sea, as they had at our handes. After which departure from them, with a good large windo the 20. of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of 20. persons in all the voyage, and profitable to the venturers of the saide voyage, as also to the whole Realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen.

The names of certaine Gentlemen, that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.

M. Iohn Chester, Sir William Chester's sonne.<sup>1</sup>

M. Anthony Parkhurst.

M. Fitzwilliam.<sup>2</sup>

M. Thomas Woorley.

M. Edward Lacy (with diuers others).

The Register and true accompts of all herein expressed, hath bene approued by mee, John Sparke the yonger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Chester was a draper of London, and Lord Mayor in 1560. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lovett of Astwell, in Northamptonshire, he had five sons. William, the eldest, was ancestor of a line of baronets now extinct. Thomas, the second, was Bishop of Elphin, in Ireland. John Chester, the third son, who was with Hawkins in this second voyage, died without issue.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction. Fitzwilliam afterwards acted as agent for Sir John Hawkins in Spain.

captaine, taking away first his armour and afterward imprisoning him : and so to the number of fourscore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoyling theyr store of victuall, and taking away a great part therof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Jamaica a rousing, where they spoiled, and pillled the Spanyardes, and hauing taken two caruels laden with wine and casana, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victualles and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughtie stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborough in Jamaica, going dayly a shoare at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euile doers unpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sorte, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galeasse being made out of S. Domingo, and came thither into the harborough, and tooke twentie of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest carried into Spayne, and some (to the number of fise and twentie) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida, where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chieftest being condemned, at the request of the souldiours, did passe the harquebussess, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were of the best souldiours that they had : and whereas they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their daily crauing of mayis, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore inforced to robbe them, and to take away their victuall perforce, was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certaine of theyr companie in the woods, and slew them, whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen, and therefore they being but a few in nūber durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced therevnto for want of food to do the same :

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians

could find no fresh water vntill he came to an Island bigger than all the rest, called the Isle of Pinas, where we ankered with our shippes the sixteenth of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the sea was brackish, yet did we not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then we should have beene another time with fine conduct water. Thus being reasonably watred we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very convenient for such shippes of charge as they were, because there were many shoales leeward, and also lay open to the sea for any winde that should blowe, and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedful: for little sooner were there ankers weyed, and foresayle set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest was faine for haste to cutte the cable in the hawse, and loose both anker and cable to saue herselfe.

Thus the seuenteenth of June we departed and the twentieth fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Anthony, where for the space of three dayes, we doubled along till we came beyond the shoales, which are 20 leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary brese taking vs, which is the Northeast winde, put us the 24 from the shoare, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch winde, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the help of the curreant, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29. we found ourselues in 27 degrees, and in the soundings of Florida where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fathome water, having all the while no sight of land.

July. The fift of July we had sight of certaine Islandes of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine

The Cape of  
S. Anthony  
in Cuba.

Florida.

July.  
The isles of  
Tortugas.

went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he loded her with them, and if they had beene tenne boates more, they might haue done the like. These Islandes beare the name of Tortels because of the number of them, which there doe breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely upon the shoare, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with sand, are hatched by the heat of the sunne, and by this means commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both back and belly all of bone of the thickenesse of an inch, the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale, and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very swelly. Heere we ankered sixe houres, and then springing a fayre gale of winde, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: heere we lay off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to windewarde, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or else if the winde had come larger, to haue plyed to windewarde to the Hauana, which is a harborow wherevnto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tarry to haue one the company of the other. This hill we thinking to haue bene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) the Hauana, to be but eight leagues to windeward, but by the persuasion of a Frenchman, who made the Captaine belieue he knew the Table very well, and had beene at the Hauana, said that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was the Hauana; to which persuasion being giuen by some, and they not of the worst,

Great store  
of birds.

A Hill  
called the  
Table.

The port of  
Hauana.



the captaine was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table, and perceiuing his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sorry, both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so farre to windewarde againe, which would haue bene with the weathering which we had 10 or 12 dayes worke, and what it would have beene longer he knew not, and that (which was worst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to go further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los porcos, which he was in doubt of both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoales he might haue such accesse with his shippes that he might conueniently take in the same: and while we were in those troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to runne into any further danger, which we had beene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no shippe escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards have very well prooued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a fayre Westerly winde, whereupon the Captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie whatsoeuer had happened, and taking the said winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot the Hauana, at the which place we thought to have watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knownen markes, we vnderstood that we had ouershotte it twentie leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no con-

ake their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the drying of their winges, which serve them not to flye but when they are moyste, and therefore when they can flye no further fall into the water, and having wette their winges take a newe flight againe. These Bonitoes be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a mackarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her praye very fiercely not onely in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this Bonitoe leape after them, and taketh them sometime about the water. They were some of those Bonitoes, which being galled by a fisgig did follow our ship coming out of Guinea 500. leagues.

There is a sea foule also that chaseth this flying fish as well as the Bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this foule pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hauking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then 100. times: for the foule can flie no way but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yonge frie of these flying fishes which commonly keepe about the shippe, and are not so big as butterflies, and yet by flying doe auoyde the vnsatiableness of the Bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes, we tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our shippe, and there was not one of them which was not worth a Bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabbling in the water, the Bonito would leape thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white clothe made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out, and in, the greedie Bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and is deceiued. Wee tooke also Dolphins, which are of very goodly colour and proportion to beholde, and no lesse delicate in taste. Foulles also there be many, both vpon lande and vpon sea. But concerning them on the

upon the captaine sent the Sallomon, with the other two barkes, to beare neere the shoare all night, because the currant was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boates might better knowe how to come to them.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppegallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the shippes and barkes forsook not, but to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vain, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past, and therefore determined to tarry no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the currant) was carryed almost out of sight, but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them up: they in the boates, being to the number of one and twentie, hauing sight of the shippes, and seeing them tacking about, whereas before at the first sight of them did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexetie than euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselues hauing no victualles but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestowe any further time in seeking the shippes than that present noone time, so that if they had not at that instant espyed them, then had they gone to the shoare to haue made prouision for victualles, and with such thinges as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the Frenchmen are (which would haue beene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victualles to bring them thither, being one hundred and twentie leagues off) or els to haue remayned amongst the Floridians, at whose

handes they were put in comfort by a French man who was with them, that had remayned in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victualles sufficient and gentle intertainement, if neede were, for a yeere or two, vntil which time God might haue provided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to theyr expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida, are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest, which the Spanyards well proued, who being fise hundred men, who intended then to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same, and of theyr cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a fryer, who taking vpon him to persuaade the people to subiection, was by them taken with his skinne cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being ashoare, found a dead man dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodyes of men, so that those sorte of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The fourteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them news of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioicing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on theyr way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from six and twentie degrees to thirtie degrees and half, where the Frenchmen are, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we woulde ouershoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the shippes pinnesse sayled along the shoare, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because he would vnderstand where the Frenchmen inhabited, and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees as it was declared vnto him, mar-

M. Hawkins  
ranged all  
the coast of  
Florida.

same surpleswise, wearing their haire downe to theyr shoulders, like the Indians.

In this riuer of May aforesaid the captain entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourscore tunne, and two pinnesses of fifteen tunne a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which theyr captaine Mounnsieur Landonier was, with certaine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to vnderstand of a watring place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fise leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barkes, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went, where he was by the general, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently intertaind, and declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was 14 months, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them, in which place they being 200. men at their first comming, had in short space eaten al the mayis they could buy of the inhabitants about them and therefore were driuen certeine of them to serue a king of the Floridians against other of his enemies for milk and other victualles, which hauing gotten, could not serue them, being so many so long a time, but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acornes, which being stamped small, and often washed to take away the bitterness of them, did vse the same for bread, eating withall sundry times rootes, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serue rather for medicines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paynes so much as to fish in the riuer before theyr doores, but would haue all thinges put in theyr mouthes, did rebel agaynst the

The French  
fort.

Monsieur  
Landonier.

Bread made  
of acorne.

captaine, taking away first his armour and afterward imprisoning him : and so to the number of fourscore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoyling theyr store of victuall, and taking away a great part therof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Jamaica a roving, where they spoiled, and pilled the Spanyardes, and hauing taken two caruels laden with wine and casana, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victualles and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughtie stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborough in Jamaica, going dayly a shoare at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euile doers vn-punished, did indurate their hearts in such sorte, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galeasse being made out of S. Domingo, and came thither into the harborough, and tooke twentie of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest carried into Spayne, and some (to the number of fine and twentie) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida, where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiours, did passe the harquebussess, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were of the best souldiours that they had : and whereas they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their daily crauing of mayis, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore inforced to robbe them, and to take away their victuall perforce, was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certaine of theyr companie in the woods, and slew them, whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen, and therefore they being but a few in nūber durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced therevnto for want of food to do the same :

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

immediately when they saw our demaund was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port xii. ships which had in them by the report 200000 li. in golde and siluer all which (being in my possession, with the Kinges Island, as also the passengers before in my way thitherwarde stayde) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the wayght of a grote: onely because I would not bee delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediately to Mexico, which was 200. miles from vs, to the Presidentes and Counsell there, shewing them of our arriual there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victualls, which wantes wee required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidentes and Counselle there should with all conuenient speede take order, that at the arriual of the Spanishe fleete which was daily looked for, there might be no cause of quarrel rise between vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commaundment might be had in that behalfe.

Our re-  
quests.  
The fleete of  
Spaine.

This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriual, in the next morning which was the sixteenth day of the same moneth, we saw open of the Hauen xiii. great shippes, and vnderstanding them to be the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediately to aduertise the General of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some other order of conditions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace: now it is to be vnderstood that this Port is a little Island of stones not three foote above the water in the hierst place, and but a bow shoote of length any way. This Island standeth from the maine land two bowe shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coaste any other place for shippes to arriue in safetie, because the north wind hath there such violence

The maner  
of the Port  
S. John de  
Vilua.

for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their necks, other some made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst to bolster vp their brestes withall, because they think it a deformitie to haue great brestes. As for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can hear of none they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they haue not made the prooffe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that, in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and silver as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obtained pearles of them of great bignes, but they were blacke by meane of roasting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards do, but for their meat: for the Spanyardes vsed to keep dayly a fishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choyse a thousand: and their order is to go in Canoaes, or rather great pinnesses, with thirtie men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beads of them. The oysters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seven or eight fathome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fathoms.

The Floridians haue pieces of Unicorne hornes, which they wear about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtayned many pieces. Of those Unicorne they haue many, for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which coming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the same into the water before shee drinketh. Of these Unicorne there is of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the French men, brought home thereof to shewe. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities, as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabite the same, cannot yet come to light; but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profite of them that shall take it in hand.

Pieces of  
golde  
grauen  
among the  
Floridians.

Florida  
esteemed  
an Island.

The coppe  
was found  
perfect  
golde,  
called by  
the sauage  
Syrona  
phyra.

Pearles.

Unicorne  
hornes,  
which the  
inhabitants  
call Soua  
mamma.



same surpleswise, wearing their haire downe to theyr shoulders, like the Indians.

In this riuer of May aforesaid the captain entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourscore tunne, and two pinnesses of fifteen tunne a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which theyr capitaine Monsieur Laudonier was, with certaine souldiers therein. To whom our capitaine sending to vnderstand of a watring place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fve leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barkes, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our capitaine went, where he was by the general, with other capitaines and souldiers, very gently intertained, and declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was 14 months, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them, in which place they being 200. men at their first comming, had in short space eaten al the mayis they could buy of the inhabitants about them and therefore were driuen certeine of them to serue a king of the Floridians against other of his enemies for milk and other victualles, which hauing gotten, could not serue them, being so many so long a time, but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acornes, which being stamped small, and often washed to take away the bitterness of them, did vse the same for bread, eating withall sundry times rootes, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serue rather for medicines then for meates alone. But this hardness not contenting some of them, who would not take the payne as much as to fish in the riuer before theyr doores, but would all thinges put in theyr mouthes, did rebel agaynst the

the French  
and

Laudonier  
anchored.

bread made  
of acornes

bread: for mayis maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flower. Also it maketh good meale beaten and sodden with water and eateth like pappe wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage sodden in water, and nourishable: which the Frenchmen did vse to drink of in the morning, and it assuaged their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this mayis was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no laborers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to haue laborers to till and sowe the ground. For they hauing victuals of theyr owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all to little for ourselues: for surely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians that a very little contenteth them, for the Indians with the head of mayis roasted, will trauel a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and mayis, and in this order I saw three score of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fiftie leagues off. The Floridians when they trauel haue a kinde of herbe dried,<sup>1</sup> which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together do sucke thoro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or five days without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowne to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground,

Laborers  
necessary  
to inhabi  
new coun  
tries.

Tobacco,  
and the  
great vse  
there

<sup>1</sup> Tobacco.

There were there also two other shippes that assaulted the Jesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our hedfastes, and gotten out by the stearn fastes. Now when the Jesus and the Minion were gotten abroad two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne hot of all sides, that within one houre the Admirall of the Spanyardes was supposed to be suncke their vice Admirall burned and one other of there principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the ships were little to annoy us.

The Jesus  
escaped  
hardly.

Sharpe  
warres.

3. Shipe of  
the Span-  
yardes con-  
sumed.

Then it is to be vnderstood that all the ordinance vpon the Islande was in the Spanyardes handes, which did vs so great annoyance, that it cutt all the Mastes and yardes of the Jesus in such sort there was no hope to carry her away: also it sunke our small shippes, whereupon wee determined to place the Jesus on that side of the Minion that shee myght abide all the batterie from the lande, and so be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessities from the Jesus as the time would suffer vs, and to leaue her. As wee were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the shott of the lande, suddenly the Spanyardes had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with vs, and having no meanes to auoide the fire, it bread among our men a marueilous feare, so that some said, let vs depart with the Minion, other sayd, let vs see where the winde will carrie the fyre from vs.

A hard case.

Fire.

But to bee short, the Minion men which had alwayes there sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without eyther consent of the Captaine or Master cutte their sayle, so that verie hardly I was receaued into the Minion.

The most part of the men that were left a lyue in the Jesus made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest, which the little boate was not able to receaue, were inforced to abide the mercy of the Spanyards (which I doubt was very little): so with the Minion onely and the Judith (a

for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their necks, other some made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst to bolster vp their brestes withall, because they think it a deformitie to haue great brestes. As for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can hear of none they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they haue not made the prooffe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that, in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and silver as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obtained pearles of them of great bignes, but they were blacke by meane of roasting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards do, but for their meat: for the Spanyardes vsed to keep dayly a fishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choyse a thousand: and their order is to go in Canoes, or rather great pinnesses, with thirtie men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beads of them. The oysters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seven or eight fathome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fathoms.

The Floridians haue pieces of Unicorne's hornes, which they wear about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtayned many pieces. Of those Unicorne's they haue many, for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which coming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the same into the water before shee drinketh. Of these Unicorne's there is of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the French men, brought home thereof to shewe. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities, as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabite the same, cannot yet come to light; but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profite of them that shall take it in hand.

Pieces of  
golde  
grauen  
among the  
Floridians.

Florida  
esteemed  
an Island.

The copper  
was found  
perfect  
golde,  
called by  
the name  
Sycra  
phya.

Pearles.

Unicorne's  
hornes,  
which the  
inhabitants  
call Sycra  
matina.

upon the captaine sent the Sallomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shoare all night, because the currant was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boates might better knowe how to come to them.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppegallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the shippes and barks forsook not, but to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vain, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past, and therefore determined to tarry no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the currant) was carryed almost out of sight, but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them up: they in the boates, being to the number of one and twentie, hauing sight of the shippes, and seeing them tacking about, whereas before at the first sight of them did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexetie than euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselues hauing no victualles but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestowe any further time in seeking the shippes than that present noone time, so that if they had not at that instant espyed them, then had they gone to the shoare to haue made prouision for victualles, and with such thinges as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the Frenchmen are (which would haue beene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victualles to bring them thither, being one hundred and twentie leagues off) or els to haue remayned amongst the Floridians, at whose

handes they were put in comfort by a French man who was with them, that had remayned in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victualles sufficient and gentle intertainement, if neede were, for a yeere or two, vntil which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to theyr expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida, are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest, which the Spanyards well proued, who being fise hundred men, who intended then to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same, and of theyr cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a fryer, who taking vpon him to persuaade the people to subiection, was by them taken with his skinne cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being ashoare, found a dead man dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodyes of men, so that those sorte of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The fourteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them news of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioicing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on theyr way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from six and twentie degrees to thirtie degrees and half, where the Frenchmen are, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we woulde ouershooote no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the shippes pinnesse sayled along the shoare, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because he would vnderstand where the Frenchmen inhabited, and not finding them in  
 eight and twentie degrees as it was declared vnto him, mar-

M. Hawkins  
 ranged all  
 the coast  
 Florida.

for anything at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such goode intertainement at sea, as they had at our handes. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the 20. of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of 20. persons in all the voyage, and profitable to the venturers of the saide voyage, as also to the whole Realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen.

The names of certaine Gentlemen, that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.

M. Iohn Chester, Sir William Chester's sonne.<sup>1</sup>

M. Anthony Parkhurst.

M. Fitzwilliam.<sup>2</sup>

M. Thomas Woorley.

M. Edward Lacy (with diuers others).

The Register and true accompts of all herein expressed, hath bene approued by mee, John Sparke the yonger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Chester was a draper of London, and Lord Mayor in 1560. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lovett of Astwell, in Northamptonshire, he had five sons. William, the eldest, was ancestor of a line of baronets now extinct. Thomas, the second, was Bishop of Elphin, in Ireland. John Chester, the third son, who was with Hawkins in this second voyage, died without issue.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction. Fitzwilliam afterwards acted as agent for Sir John Hawkins in Spain.

had gone about the same they had been espied by some of our men which then immediately would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espy what we did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspicion might be had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine that standing in doubt of their curtesie, he returned in the morning with his 3. boates, appointed with bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he carried none, and thus dissembling all iniuries conceiued of both partes, the captaine went a shore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouernours debt, which the one by no means would answere, nor the other, because it was not his due debt, he would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two barkes which rode near the shore to weie and goe vnder saile, which was done to the intent that the captaine demaunding a testimoniall of his good behaiour there, could not haue the same vntill he were vnder the saile readie to depart, and therefore at night went for the same againe, and receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very curteously he tooke his leave, and departed shooting of the bases of his boate for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure faulcons and thirtie harquebusses, and this was the first time that we knew of the conueyance of theyr faulcons.

The 31. of May we departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June we had sight of an Island, which we made to be Jamaica, maruelling that by the vehement course of the seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the Westend of Hispaniola we fell with the middle of Jamaica, notwithstanding that to



refreshed mee, forasmuch as for 7. moneths space, I never tasted a drop of wine: nevertheless it was all diuided amongst the greatest part of my souldiers: this Martin Attinas had guided the Englishmen to our coast, wherewith he was acquainted, for in the yere 1562 he came thither with me and therefore the General sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request he signified the same vnto the general, which the next day following caused one of his small ships to enter into the riuer, and came to see me in a great shipboat, accompanied with gentlemē honorably apparelled, yet vnarmed, he sent for great store of bread and wine to distribute thereof to euery one. On my part I made him the best cheare I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which vnto this present I had caused carefully to be preserued, hoping to store the couëtrey withal. Now 3 dayes passed while the English general remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see me, and asked me whether he were my brother. I told them he was so, and signified vnto them that he was come to see me, and ayde me with so great store of victuals, that frō hence forward I should haue no need to take anything of them. The bruit hereof incontinently was spryed ouer all the countrie, in such sort, as Ambassadors came vnto me from al parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters, desired to make alliance with me, and euen they which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their seruice and friendship vnto me: whereupon I receiued them, and gratified them with certaine presents. The general immediately vnderstood the desire and vrgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to transport me, and al my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knew not how the case stood betwixt the French and the English: and although he promised me on

his faith to put me on land in France, before he would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his Mistresse: wherefore I flatly refused his offer. Whereupon there rose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which said that I sought to destroy them al, and that the Brigandine whereof I spoke before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere, wherein wee were. The brute and mutinie increased more and more: for after that the generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, he declared and said vnto them, that he greatly doubted, that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had, and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great ieopardie. Notwithstanding, if I were so cōtented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leaue me a small ship to transport the rest.

The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently consented together, that in case I would not accept the same, they would imbarke themselues with him, and forsake me, so that he would receiue them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselues together, and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified vnto me their intention. Whereunto I promised to answere them in one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my companie, which, after I had broken the matter with them, answered mee all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse his offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented itselfe. And that they could not think euill of it in France, if, being forsaken as we were, wee ayded our selues with such meanes, as God hath sent to vs. After sundrie debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gaue my aduise that we ought to deliuer him the price of the shippe

and going twentie harquebussess in a company, were set vpon by eightene kings, hauing seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and droue them all downe to theyr boats, whose pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at, for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies, which were armed, and perceiving that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces & legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty souldiors left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour, for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity oure captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrells of meale, and four pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare, and to helpe them the better homewards whither they were bound before our comming, at their request, we spared them one of our barks of fifty tunnes. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the same, but they being souldiours, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by wearres they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, deere maruellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man might liue, hauing corne or mayis wherewith to make

The French  
greatly re-  
liued by M.  
Hawkins.

Twentie  
hogsheads  
of wine  
made in  
Florida like  
to the wine  
of Franco.

bread: for mayis maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flower. Also it maketh good meale beaten and sodden with water and eateth like pappe wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage sodden in water, and nourishable: which the Frenchmen did vse to drink of in the morning, and it assuaged their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this mayis was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no laborers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to haue laborers to till and sowe the ground. For they hauing victuals of theyr owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all to little for ourselues: for surely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians that a very little contenteth them, for the Indians with the head of mayis roasted, will trauel a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and mayis, and in this order I saw three score of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fiftie leagues off. The Floridians when they trauel haue a kinde of herbe dried,<sup>1</sup> which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together do sucke thoro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or five days without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowne to any man: for besides the land itselfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground,

Laborers  
necessarie  
to inhabit  
new coun-  
tries.

Tobacco,  
and the  
great ver-  
tue thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Tobacco.

the captaine was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table, and perceiuing his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sorry, both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so farre to windewarde againe, which would haue bene with the weathering which we had 10 or 12 dayes worke, and what it would haue beene longer he knew not, and that (which was worst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to go further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los porcos, which he was in doubt of both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoales he might haue such accesse with his shippes that he might conueniently take in the same: and while we were in those troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to runne into any further danger, which we had beene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no shippe escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards haue very well prooued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a fayre Westerly winde, whereupon the Captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie whatsoeuer had happened, and taking the said winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot the Hauana, at the which place we thought to haue watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knowen markes, we vnderstood that we had ouershotte it twentie leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no con-

convenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but  
 to dissemble, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for,  
 to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoales,  
 which are very dangerous, and because the currant shooteth  
 to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be  
 set vpon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so  
 making but reasonable way the day aforesaid and all night:  
 the 12 day in the morning, we fell with the Islands vpon the  
 cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes  
 that fearing the shoales to the Eastwards, and doubting the  
 currant comming out of the West, which was not of that  
 force we made account of, for we felt little or none till we  
 fell with the cape, and then felt such a currant, that bearing  
 all sailes against the same yet were driuen backe againe a  
 great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jesus  
 pinnesse, and the Sallomons boate, which were sent the  
 same day in the afternoone, while the shippes were be-  
 calmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands  
 aforesaid, who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither,  
 being farther off than they deemed it to be, and in the meane  
 time a fayre gale of winde springing at sea, the shippes de-  
 parted, making a signe to them to come away, who although  
 they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shoare  
 would not loose all the labour they had taken, but deter-  
 mined to keepe theyr way, and see if there were any water  
 to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well  
 enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water  
 which they had founde that the night was come before they  
 could make an end, and hauing lost the sight of the shippes,  
 rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way  
 they should seeke them againe, as in deede there was a  
 more doubt than they knew of. For when they departed,  
 the shippes were in no currant, and sayling but a mile  
 further, found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could  
 not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: where-

The stat  
 the curr  
 of Florid

fewe which we had gotten our selues. Now had we obtained between 4. and 500. Negroes, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West-Indies, and there, for our Negroes, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our wating, took fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more harde, then before hath beene accustomed, till the 27th day of March, which day we had sight of an Island, called Dominica, vpon the coast of the west Indies, in 14. degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our trafficke with the Spaniards, as we might, somewhat hardly, because the King had straightly commanded all his Gouvernours in those partes, by no means to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Isle of Margarita, vnto Cartagena, without anything greatly worth the noting, sauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hache, from whence came all the pearles: the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no means agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarks in all places, where it might be entred, and furnished himselfe with 100. Hargabusiers, so that he thought by famine to have enforced vs to have put a land our Negroes: of which purpose he had not greatly failed vnles we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no means obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to do, and so with 200. men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse only of ii. men of our partes, and no hurte done to the Spaniards because after their volye of shott discharged they all fled.

Thus hauing the town, with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negroes and partly by friend-

ship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secrete trade: whereupon the Spanyards resorted to vs by night, and bought of vs to the number of 200. Negroes: in all other places where we traded the Spanyard inhabitants were glad of vs and traded willingly.

At Cartagena, the last towne we thought to have seene on Cartagena the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spanyard the gouernor was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24. July, hoping to haue July. escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to raigne, the which they call Furicanos, but passing Furicanos by the west end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida there happened to vs the xii. day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of 4. daies, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and with all was in so extreame a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leave her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe sought the coast of Florida where we found no place nor Hauen for our ships because of the shalownes of the coast: thus being in greater despaire, and taken with a new storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were Storme. inforced to take for our the Port which serueth the Citie of Mexico called St. John de Vllua which standeth in six. degrees: in seeking of which Port we took in our way iii. ships which carried passengers to the number of C. which passengers we hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, and a quiet placo for the repairing of our fleete: shortly after the xvi. of September Septembe we entered the Port of St. John de Vllua and in our entrie Saint Iohn de Vllua, Port. the Spanyardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the The Span yards de- ceiued. chief officers of the Countrey came aborde vs, which being deceived of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but



land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the foule of the fresh riuers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all redde fethers, and long redde legs like a Herne, a necke according to the bill redde, whereof the vpper nebbe

Flemingo.

The Egripte. hangeth an inche ouer the nether. And an Egripte<sup>1</sup> which is all white as the swanne, with legges like to an hearne-shewe, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the Estridge his feather. Of sea foule aboue all other not common in Eng-

The Pellicane. lande, I noted the Pellicane, which is faigned to be the louingest birds that is: which rather then her yong shoulde want, will spare her heart bloud out of her bellie, but for all this louingness she is very deformed to beholde, for shee is of colour russet, notwithstanding in Guinea I have seene of them as white as a swanne, hauing legges like the same, and a body like the Herne, with a long necke, and a thicke long beake, from the nether iawe whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, asisable to receive a fishe as bigge as ones thigh, and this her bigge throat and long bill doeth make her seeme so ougly.

Here I haue declared the estate of Florida, and the comodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme vnto some, by the meanes that the plentie of Golde and Siluer is not so abundant, as in other places, that the cost bestowed vpon the same, will not bee able to quite the charges: yet am I of the opinion that by that which I haue seene in other Islandes of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath been that of twelue head of beasts in 25.

yeeres, did in the hides of them raise 1000. pound profite yeerely, that the increase of cattell onely would raise profite sufficient for the same. For wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such a short time, what would a greater doe in many yeeres. And surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the

Measure to  
reape a suf-  
ficient  
profite in  
Florida and  
Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> Egret.

that vnles the shippes be very safely moored with their  
 ankers fastned vpon the Island, there is no remedie for  
 these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauens <sup>North  
winds  
perilous.</sup>  
 was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one  
 aboorde the other, so that we could not giue place to them,  
 nor they to vs: and here I began to bewaile that which  
 after folowed, for now said I, I am in two dangers, and  
 forced to receaue the one of them. That was, either I must  
 haue kept out the fleete from entring the Port, that which  
 with Gods helpe I was very well able to do, or els suffer  
 them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which  
 they never faile to execute, where they may haue oppor-  
 tunitie, or circumuent it by any meanes: if I had kept them  
 out, then had there bin present shipwarke of al the fleete  
 which amounted in value to sixe millions, which was in  
 value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was <sup>1800. thou-  
sand pou</sup>  
 not able to aunswere, fearing the Queens Maiesties indig-  
 nation in so weighty a matter. Thus with my selfe reuol-  
 uing the doubts, thought rather better to abide the Jutt  
 of the vncerteinty, than the certeinty. The vncerteine  
 doubt I accompt was their treasure which by good policy I  
 hoped might be preuented, and therefore as chusing the  
 least mischief I proceeded to conditions.

Now was our first messenger come and returned from the  
 fleete with report of the arriual of a vice Roy,<sup>1</sup> so that he had <sup>A vice Ro</sup>  
 anethority, both in all this Province of Mexico (otherwise  
 called noua Hispania) and in the sea, who sent vs word that  
 we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for  
 the better maintenance of amity betweene the Princes) be  
 both fauorably granted and faithfully performed, with many  
 faire words how passing the coast of the Indies he had <sup>Faire  
wordes be-  
giled.</sup>  
 vnderstood of our honest behauiour towards the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> This was Don Martin Henriquez, Viceroy of Mexico from 1568 to 1580. In his time the Inquisition was introduced. He became Viceroy of Peru in 1581, and died at Lima in 1583.

Sect. 11. her, though with some losse, which he imparted with me: and for that I had ever a particular love unto her, and a desire shee should continue ours, I offered to ease him of the charge and care of her, and to take her with all her furniture at the price he had before taken her of me; with resolution to put in execution the voyage for which shee was first builded; although it lay six months and more in suspence, partly, upon the pretended voyage for Nombre de Dios and Panama, which then was fresh a foote; and partly, upon the caracke at Dartmouth, in which I was imployed as a commissioner; but this businesse being ended, and the other pretence waxing colde, the fift of March I resolved, and beganne to goe forward with the journey, so often talked of, and so much desired.

Considerations for pretended voyages.

Provisions better provided at Plimouth, then at London.

And having made an estimate of the charge of victualls, munition, imprests,<sup>1</sup> sea-shore, and necessaries for the sayd ship: consorting another of a hundred tunnes which I waited for daily from the Straites of Giberalter, with a pynace of sixtie tunes, all mine owne: and for a competent number of men for them; as also of all sorts of merchandises for trade and traffique in all places where wee should come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victualls and provisions, and to lade her with them, and with all sorts of commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and dispatched order to my servant in Plimouth, to put in a readinesse my pynace;<sup>2</sup> as also to take up certaine provisions, which are better cheape in those parts than in London, as beefe, porke, bisket, and sider. And with the diligence I used, and my father's furtherance, at the end of one moneth, I was ready to set sayle for Plimouth, to joyne with the rest of my shippes and provisions. But the expecting of the coming of the lord high admirall, Sir Robert Cecill, principall secretary to her majestie, and Sir

<sup>1</sup> Bounty? or perhaps wages paid in advance.

<sup>2</sup> A small vessel fitted with sails and oars.

bread: for mayis maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flower. Also it maketh good meale beaten and sodden with water and eateth like pappe wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage sodden in water, and nourishable: which the Frenchmen did vse to drink of in the morning, and it assuaged their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this mayis was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no laborers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to haue laborers to till and sowe the ground. For they hauing victuals of theyr owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all to little for ourselues: for surely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians that a very little contenteth them, for the Indians with the head of mayis roasted, will trauel a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and mayis, and in this order I saw three score of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fiftie leagues off. The Floridians when they trauel haue a kinde of herbe dried,<sup>1</sup> which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together do sucke thoro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or five days without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowne to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground,

Laborers  
necessaries  
to inhabit  
new coun-  
tries.

Tobacco,  
and the  
great ver-  
tue thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Tobacco.

Sect. II.

thereof, and have beene most lamentable spectacles and examples unto us: experiments in the *Great Harry*,<sup>1</sup> admirall of England, which was overset and suncke at Portsmouth, with her captaine, Carew, and the most part of his company drowned in a goodly summers day, with a little flawe of winde; for that her ports were all open, and making a small hele, by them entred their destruction; where if they had beene shut, no wind could have hurt her, especially in that place.

In the river of Thames, Master Thomas Candish had a small ship over-set through the same negligence. And one of the fleete of Syr Francis Drake, in Santo Domingo harbour, turned her keele upward likewise, upon the same occasion: with many others, which we never have knowledge of.

And when this cometh to passe, many times negligence is cloaked with the fury of the winde: which is a double fault; for the truth being knowne, others would bee warned to shun the like neglects; for it is a very bad ship whose masts crackt not asunder, whose sayles and tackling lie not in pieces, before she over-set, especially if she be English built. And that which over-setteth the ship is the waight of the water that presseth down the side, which as it entreth more and more, increaseth the waight, and the impossibilitie of the remedie: for, the water not entring, with easing of the sheate, or striking the sayles or putting the ship before the winde or sea, or other diligences, as occasion is offered (and all expert mariners know) remedie is easily found.

<sup>1</sup> The *Great Harry* was built in the reign of Henry VII, and was accidentally burnt at Woolwich in 1553. She was the first two-decker. Sir Richard Hawkins forgot that it was the *Mary Rose* that sunk at Spithead, as Sir W. Monson tells us, on the very day that King Henry had dined on board. The *Great Harry* was once nearly sunk at Spithead, on the day the French fleet appeared at St. Helen's, "by a little sway in casting the ship about, the ports being sixteen inches from the water".

for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about <sup>Pieces of</sup> their necks, other some made round like a pancake, with a <sup>side</sup> hole in the midst to bolster vp their brestes withall, be- <sup>graues</sup> cause they think it a deformitie to haue great brestes. As <sup>among the</sup> for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can hear <sup>Floridians.</sup> of none they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, whereof <sup>Florida</sup> as yet also they haue not made the prooue, because they <sup>esteemed</sup> were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that, in the <sup>an Island.</sup> maine where are high hilles, may be golde and silver as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The French- <sup>The coppe</sup> men obtained pearles of them of great bignesse, but they <sup>was from a</sup> were blacke by meane of roasting of them, for they do not <sup>perfect</sup> fish for them as the Spanyards do, but for their meat: for <sup>a file,</sup> the Spanyardes vsed to keep dayly a fishing some two or <sup>called by</sup> three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choyse a <sup>the name</sup> thousand: and their order is to go in Canoaes, or rather <sup>Syerra</sup> great pinnesses, with thirtie men in a piece, whereof the <sup>pyra.</sup> one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beads of them. The oysters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seven or eight fathome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fathoms.

The Floridians have pieces of Unicornes hornes, which <sup>Unicornes</sup> they wear about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen <sup>hornes,</sup> obtayned many pieces. Of those Unicornes they haue many, <sup>which the</sup> for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, <sup>is taken to</sup> which coming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the same into <sup>call it the</sup> the water before shee drinketh. Of these Unicornes there <sup>unicorn</sup> is of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the French men, brought home thereof to shewe. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities, as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabite the same, cannot yet come to light; but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profite of them that shall take it in hand.

Sect. III.

sea, and what with the tide upon the bowe, she mist staying, and put us in some danger, before we could flatt about; therefore for doubling the point of any land better is ever a short bourd, then to put all in perill.<sup>1</sup>

Being tacked about, wee thought to anchor in the Downes, but the sayles set, we made a small bourd, and after casting aboute agayne, doubled the foreland, and ran alongst the coast till we came to the Isle of Wight: where being becalmed, wee sent ashore Master Thomson, of Harwich, our pilot, not being able before to set him on shore for the perversnes of the winde.

Being cleere of the Wight, the wind vered southerly, and before we came to Port-land, to the west, south-west, but with the helpe of the ebbe wee recovered Port-land-roade, where we anchored all that night; and the next morning with the ebbe, wee set sayle againe, the winde at west south-west; purposing to beare it up, all the ebbe, and to stop the flood being under sayle.

## SECTION III.

The providence of the Dutch.

THE fleete of Flemings which had boene in our company before, came towring into the road, which certainly was a thing worth the noting, to behold the good order the masters observed in guard of their fleete.

The admirall headmost, and the rest of the men of warre, spread alongst to wind-ward, all saving the vice-admirall and her consort, which were lee-most and stern-most of all; and except the admirall, which was the first, that came to an anchor, none of the other men of warre anchored, before

<sup>1</sup> This is sound advice and good seamanship. In turning to wind-ward, it is wise to keep in the fair way, so that in case of missing stays, you have not a danger under your lee.

reed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this f Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Sommer with vs: which surely is not to be marueiled at, seeing the Countrey standeth in so watric a climate: for once a day withoute faile, they haue a showre of raine. Which by meanes of the Countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein, and because there is not the thing wee all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I do therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisite for a prince, who is of power able to goe thorow with the same, rather than for any subiect.

From thence we departed the 28. of July, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose, and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make great speede after, as they coulde. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, we prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with vs, so that wee were diuers (or rather the most part) in despaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better provided for vs, then our deseruing. In which state of great miserie, we were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which moued him to heare vs, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set vs so farre shotte, as to be vpon the banke of Newfoundland, on S. Bartlemewes eue, and sounded, thereupon finding ground at 130. fathoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh coddo fish, which greatly relieued vs, and very glad thereof, the next day departing, by lingering little gales for the space of foure or fve days, at the which we sawe a couple of French ships, and had so much fish as woulde serue us plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and siluer, to the iust value thereof, vnto the heife owners of the said shippes, which they not looking



5'

THE  
OBSERVATIONS  
OF  
S<sup>IR</sup> RICHARD HAVV-  
KINS KNIGHT, IN HIS  
*VOIAGE INTO THE*  
*South Sea.*

Anno Domini 1593.



Per varios Casus, Artem Experientia fecit,  
Exemplo monstrante viam.—MANIL. li. 1.

LONDON

Printed by *I. D.* for IOHN IAGGARD, and are to be  
sold at his shop at the Hand and Starre in Fleete-streete,  
*neere the Temple Gate.* 1622.



TO THE  
MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT  
PRINCE CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES,  
DUKE OF CORNEWALL, EARLE OF CHESTER, ETC.

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**A**MONGST other neglects prejudiciall to this state, I have observed, that many the worthy and heroyque acts of our nation, have been buried and forgotten: the actors themselves being desirous to shunne emulation in publishing them, and those which overlived them, fearefull to adde, or to diminish from the actors worth, judgement, and valour, have forborne to write them; by which succeeding ages have been deprived of the fruits which might have beene gathered out of their experience, had they beene committed to record. To avoyd this neglect, and for the good of my country, I have thought it my duty to publish the observations of my South Sea Voyage; and for that unto your highnesse, your heires, and successors, it is most likely to be advantageous (having brought on me nothing but losse and misery), I am bold to use your name, a protection unto it, and to offer it with all humblenes and duty to your highnesse approbation, which if it purchase, I have attained my desire, which shall ever ayme to performe dutie.

Your Highnesse humble

And devoted servant,

RICHARD HAWKINS.



And the next morning early, being the 26th of Aprill, wee Sect. vi.  
harboured our selves in Plimouth.

My ship at an anchor, and I ashore, I presently dispatched a messenger to London, to advise my father, Sir John Hawkins, what had past: which not onely to him, but to all others, that understood what it was, seemed strange; that the wind contrary, and the weather such as it had beene, wee could be able to gaine Plimouth; but doubtlesse, the *Daintie* was a very good sea ship, and excellent by the winde; which with the neap streames, and our diligence to benefit our selves of all advantages, made fezible that which almost was not to be beleaved.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of Parts requisite in a good mariner. the principall parts required in a mariner that frequenteth our coastes of England, is to cast his tydes, and to know how they set from poynt to poynt, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shore.<sup>1</sup>

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SECTION VI.

Now presently I began to prepare for my dispatch, and to hasten my departure; and finding that my ship which I expected from the Straites came not, and that shee was to goe to London to discharge, and uncertaine how long shee might stay, I resolved to take another of mine owne in her place, though lesser, called the *Hawke*, onely for a victualler; purposing in the coast of Brazil, or in the Straites,<sup>2</sup> to take out her men and victualls, and to cast her off.

<sup>1</sup> The tide runs two or three hours later in the offing than in shore; by attending to this, a vessel working down channel may gain great advantage.

<sup>2</sup> Of Magellan.

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mountains. Rivers, forests, mountains, and the like, not un-  
propitious for navigation: besides many notable observations,  
the friends of a long experience, who may give light touching  
many matters, even to the best navigators and commanders:  
who if they desire to learn by experience, shall here find store:  
but if they desire to learn more, here are also aliena  
personas. If you desire not, not, not, and judge. Fare-  
well.

THE OBSERVATIONS  
OF  
SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, KNIGHT,  
IN HIS  
VOYAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEA.

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SECTION I.

WITH the counsels consent, and helpe of my father, Sir John Hawkins,<sup>1</sup> knight, I resolved a voyage to be made for the lands of Japan, of the Phillippinas, and Molucas, the Kingdomes of China, and East Indies, by the way of the Straites of Magelan, and the South Sea.

The principall end of our designements, was, to make a perfect discovery of all those parts where I should arrive, as well knowne as unknowne, with their longitudes and latitudes; the lying of their coasts; their head lands; their ports, and bayes; their cities, townes, and peoplings; their manner of government; with the commodities which the countries yielded, and of which they have want, and are in necessitie.

For this purpose, in the end of anno 1588, returning from the journey against the Spanish Armado, I caused a ship to be builded in the river of Thames, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finished in that perfection as could be required; for she was pleasing to the profitable for stowage, good of sayle, and well conditioned.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.



Sect. VII. unspotted) in ten dayes put all in his former estate, or better. And so once againe, in Gods name, I brought my shippes out into the sound, the wind being easterly, and beganne to take my leave of my friends, and of my dearest friend, my second selfe, whose unfeyned tears had wrought me into irresolution, and sent some other in my roome, had I not considered that he that is in the daunce, must needs daunce on, though he doe but hopp, except he will be a laughing stocke to all the lookers on: so remembering that many had their eyes set upon me, with diverse affections, as also the hope of good successe (my intention being honest and good), I shut the doore to all impediments, and mine eare to all contrary counsell, and gave place to voluntary banishment from all that I loved and esteemed in this life, with hope thereby better to serve my God, my prince and countrie, then to encrease my tallent any way.<sup>1</sup>

Abuses of  
some sea-  
faring men.

And so began to gather my companie aboard, which occupied my good friends and the justices of the towne two dayes, and forced us to search all lodgings, tavernes, and ale-houses. (For some would be ever taking their leave and never depart: some drinke themselves so drunke, that except they were carried aboard, they of themselves were not able to goe one steppe: others, knowing the necessity of the time, fayned themselves sicke: others, to be indebted to their hostes, and forced me to ransome them; one, his chest; another, his sword: another, his shirts; another, his carde and instruments for sea: and others, to benefit themselves of the imprest given them, absented themselves, making a lewd living in deceiving all whose money they could lay hold of: which is a scandall too rife amongst our sea-men: by it they committing

<sup>1</sup> Familiar as we are with the present resources of the dockyard at Plymouth, we can hardly estimate the firmness that could bear up against such mischances; of this stuff were the founders of the British naval power composed.

dates. As was plainly seene in the *Revenge*, which was Sect. 1  
 over the unfortunatist ship the late queenes majestie had The  
 during her raigne; for coming out of Ireland, with Sir Revenge.  
 John Parrot,<sup>1</sup> shee was like to be cast away upon the  
 Kentish coast. After, in the voyage of Sir John Hawkins,  
 my father, anno 1586, shee strucke aground coming into  
 Plimouth, before her going to sea. Upon the coast of  
 Spaine, shee left her fleete, readie to sinke with a great  
 leake: at her returne into the harbour of Plimouth, shee  
 beate upon Winter stone; and after, in the same voyage,  
 going out at Portsmouth haven, shee ranne twice aground;  
 and in the latter of them, lay twentie-two houres beating  
 upon the shore: and at length, with eight foote of water in  
 hold, shee was forced off, and presently ranne upon the  
 Ouse: and was cause that shee remained there (with other  
 three ships of her majesties) six months, till the spring of  
 the yeare; when coming about to bee decked,<sup>2</sup> entring  
 the river of Thames, her old leake breaking upon her,  
 had liked to have drowned all those which were in her. In  
 anno 1591, with a storme of wind and weather, riding at her  
 moorings in the river of Rochester, nothing but her bare  
 masts over head, shee was turned topsie-turvie, her keele  
 uppermost: and the cost and losse shee wrought, I have  
 too good cause to remember, in her last voyage, in which  
 shee was lost, when shee gave England and Spain just  
 cause to remember her. For the Spaniards, themselves  
 confesse, that three of their ships sunke by her side, and  
 was the death of above 1500 of their men, with the losse See Mast  
Harlots  
Revenge

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Perrot, an experienced soldier, was appointed President of Munster in 1571. In 1584 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland. Froude describes him (xii, p. 201) "as a straightforward soldier, vain, passionate, but anxious to do what was right". Sir John Chichester, who was afterwards Lord Deputy, married his daughter Letitia. Perrot was superseded, at his own request, in 1588: false accusations were brought against him, and he died of a broken heart in the Tower.

<sup>2</sup> Docked?

Sect. VII.

Master  
Thomas  
Candish.

Master Thomas Candish, in his last voyage, in the sound of Plimouth, being readie to set sayle, complained unto me, that persons which had absented themselves in imprests, had cost him above a thousand and five hundred pounds: these varlets within a few dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streets of Plimouth, whom the justice had before sought for with great diligence; and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to do the like. *Impunitas peccandi illecebra.*

Master  
George Ray-  
mond.

The like complaint made master George Reymond;<sup>1</sup> and in what sort they deal with me is notorious, and was such, that if I had not beene provident to have had a third part more of men then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the sea unmanned; or to give over my voyage. And many of my company, at sea, vaunted how they had cosoned the Earle of Cumberland, master Candish, master Reymond, and others; some of five pounds, some of ten, some of more, and some of lesse. And truely, I thinke, my voyage prospered the worse, for theirs and other lewd persons company, which were in my ship; which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinary, severe, and present justice, to be executed on the offenders by the justice in that place where they should be found. And for finding them, it were good that all captaines, and masters of shippes, at their departure out of the port, should give unto the head justice, the names and signes of all their runnawayes, and they presently to dispatch to the nigher ports the advise agreeable, where meeting with them, without further delay or processe, to use martial law upon them. Without doubt, seeing the law once put in execution, they and all others would be terrified from such villanies.

<sup>1</sup> Captain George Raymond commanded the expedition of three ships which undertook the first voyage to the East Indies in 1591. He was in the *Penelope*, and his second, James Lancaster, was in the *Edward Bonaventure*. But the two ships parted company after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and Raymond was never heard of again.

## SECTION II.

THE *Repentance* being put in perfection, and riding at Detford, the queens majestie passing by her, to her pallace at Greenwich, commanded her bargemen to row round about her, and viewing her from post to stemme, disliked nothing but her name, and said that shee would christen her anew, and that henceforth shee should be called the *Daintie*; which name she brooked as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie voyages she made in her majesties service; having taken (for her majestie) a great Bysten,<sup>1</sup> of five hundred tunnes, loaden with iron and other commodities, under the conduct of Sir Martin Furbusher; a caracke bound for the East Indies, under my fathers charge, and the principall cause of taking the great caracke, brought to Dartmouth by Sir John Borrow, and the Earl of Cumberlands shippes, anno 1592, with others of moment in other voyages.<sup>2</sup> To us, shee never brought but cost, trouble, and care. Therefore my father resolved to sell

<sup>1</sup> Probably an abbreviation or misprint for Biscayan. Lediard relates, that in 1592, an expedition, fitted out against the Spaniards, "took a great Biscayan shipp of six hundred tunnes, laden with all sorts of small iron-work".

<sup>2</sup> This great caracke was taken, after a sharp engagement, by six ships; which were dispatched expressly to the Azores, to lie in wait for the East India carackes. The expedition left under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Borrough. Sir Walter was, however, superseded by Sir Martin Frobisher. She was called the "*Madre de Dios*", a seven-decked ship of one hundred and sixty-five feet from stem to stern, manned with six hundred men. The burthen of this caracke was sixteen hundred tons, and she carried thirty-two brass guns. Her cargo, besides jewels, *which never came to light*, was as follows: spices, drugs, silks, and calicoes, besides other wares, many in number, but less in value, as elephants' teeth, china, cocoa-nuts, hides, ebony, and cloth made from rinds of trees. All which being appraised, was reckoned to amount to at least one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The caracke, or Carraca, was a large vessel of two masts, used in the India and Brazilian trade.

Sect. II.

her, though with some losse, which he imparted with me: and for that I had ever a particular love unto her, and a desire shee should continue ours, I offered to ease him of the charge and care of her, and to take her with all her furniture at the price he had before taken her of me; with resolution to put in execution the voyage for which shee was first builded; although it lay six months and more in suspence, partly, upon the pretended voyage for Nombre de Dios and Panama, which then was fresh a foote; and partly, upon the caracke at Dartmouth, in which I was imployed as a commissioner; but this businesse being ended, and the other pretence waxing colde, the fift of March I resolved, and beganne to goe forward with the journey, so often talked of, and so much desired.

Considerations for pretended voyages.

And having made an estimate of the charge of victualls munition, imprests,<sup>1</sup> sea-shore, and necessaries for the saye ship: consorting another of a hundred tunnes which waited for daily from the Straites of Giberalter, with a pynace of sixtie tunes, all mine owne: and for a competent number of men for them; as also of all sorts of merchandises for trade and traffique in all places where wee should come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victuall and provisions, and to lade her with them, and with all sort of commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and dispatched order to my servant in Plimouth, to put in readinesse my pynace;<sup>2</sup> as also to take up certaine provisions, which are better cheape in those parts than in London, as beefe, porke, bisket, and sider. And with the diligence I used, and my father's furtherance, at the end of one moneth, I was ready to set sayle for Plimouth, to joyne with the rest of my shippes and provisions. But the expecting of the coming of the lord high admirall, Sir Robert Cecill, principall secretary to her majestie, and Sir

Provisions better provided at Plimouth, then at London.

<sup>1</sup> Bounty? or perhaps wages paid in advance.

<sup>2</sup> A small vessel fitted with sails and oars.

Walter Rawley, with others, to honour my shippe and me with their presence and farewell, detayned me some dayes : and the rayne and untemperate weather deprived me of the favour, which I was in hope to have received at their hands. Whereupon being loath to loose more tyme, and the winde serving according to my wish, the eight of April, 1593, I caused the pilot to set sayle from Blackwall, and to vayne<sup>1</sup> down to Gravesend, whither that night I purposed to come.

Having taken my unhappy last leave of my father Sir John Hawkins, I tooke my barge, and rowed down the river, and coming to Barking, wee might see my ship at an anchor in the midst of the channell, where ships are not wont to more themselves : this bred in me some alteration. And coming aboard her, one and other began to recount the perill they had past of losse of ship and goods, which was not little ; for the winde being at east north-east, when they set sayle, and vered out southerly, it forced them for the doubling of a point to bring their tacke aboard, and looffing up ; the winde freshing sodenly the shipp began to make a little hele ; and for that shee was very deep loaden, and her ports open, the water began to enter in at them, which no bodie having regard unto, thinking themselves safe in the river, it augmented in such manner as the waight of the water began to presse downe the side, more than the winde : at length when it was seene and the shete flowne, shee could hardly be brought upright. But God was pleased that with the diligence and travell of the company, she was freed of that danger ; which may be a gentle warning to all such as take charge of shipping, even before they set sayle, eyther in river or harbour, or other part, to have an eye to their ports, and to see those shut and callked, which may cause danger ; for avoyding the many mishaps which dayly chance for the neglect

<sup>1</sup> Drop down.

**Sect. ix.** It may be alleged in contradiction, and with probable reason, that it is not fit for a fleete to stay in a harbour for one ship, nor at an anchor at an iland, for being discovered, or for hinderance of their voyage.

**Objections against meeting in harbours.**

**Answered.** Yet it is the best; for when the want is but for one or two ships, a pynace or ship may wayte the time appoynted and remaine with direction for them. But commonly one ship, though but a bad sayler, maketh more haste then a whole fleete, and is at the meeting place first, if the accident be not very important.

The place of meeting, if it might be, would be able to give, at the least, refreshing of water and wood.

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SECTION IX.

**False calking.** LANCHING out into the channell, the wind being at east and by south, and east south-east, which blowing hard, and a flood in hand, caused a chapping sea, and my vice-admirall bearing a good sayle made some water, and shooting off a peece of ordinance, I edged towards her to know the cause; who answered me, that they had sprung a great leake, and that of force they must returne into the sound; which seeing to be necessary, I cast about, where anchoring, and going aboard, presently found, that betwixt wind and water, the calkers had left a seame uncalked, which being filled up with pitch only, the sea labouring that out, had been sufficient to have sunk her in short space, if it had not beene discovered in time.

And truly there is little care used now adaies amongst our countrimen in this profession, in respect of that which was used in times past, and is accustomed in France, in Spaine, and in other parts. Which necessitie will cause to be reformed in time, by assigning the portion that every

With this mischaunce the mariners were so daunted, that they would not proceede with the ship any further, except shee was lighted, which indeede was needelesse, for many reasons which I gave: but mariners are like to a stiffe necked horse, which taking the bridle betwixt his teeth, forceth his rider to what him list, mauger his will; so they having once concluded, and resolved, are with great difficultie brought to yeelde to the raynes of reason; and to colour their negligence, they added cost, trouble, and delay. In fine, seeing no other remedie, I dispatched that night a servant of mine to give account to my father of that which had past, and to bring mee presently some barke of London, to goe along with me to Plimouth; which not finding, he brought me a hoye, in which I loaded some sixe or eight tunnes, to give content to the company; and so set sayle the 13th of Aprill, and the next day wee put in at Harwich, for that the winde was contrary, and from thence departed the 18th of the sayd moneth in the morning.

When wee were cleere of the sands, the winde veered to the south-west, and so we were forced to put into Margat Roade, whither came presently after us a fleete of Hollanders of above an hundreth sayle, bound for Rochell, to loade salt; and in their companie a dozen shippes of warre; their wafters very good ships and well appointed in all respects. All which came alongst by our ship, and saluted us, as is the custome of the sea, some with three, others with five, others with more peeces of ordinance.

The next morning the winde vering easterly, I set sayle, and the Hollanders with me, and they with the flood in hand, went out at the North-sands-head, and I through the Gulls to shorten my way, and to set my pilote ashore.

Comming neere the South-fore-land, the winde began to vere to the south-east and by south, so as we could not double the point of the land, and being close about the shoure, and puting our ship to stay, what with the chapping



**Sect. x.** trary to all discipline, and many time is cause of dissention betwixt friends, and the breach of amitie betwixt princes; the death of many, and sometimes losse of shippes and all, making many obstinate, if not desperate; whereas in using common courtesie, they would better bethinke themselves, and so with ordinarie proceeding (justified by reason, and the custome of all well disciplined people) might perhaps many times breede an increase of amitie, a succour to necessity, and excuse divers inconveniencies and sutes which have impoverished many: for it hath chanced by this

**Sundry mischances for neglect thereof.** errour, that two English ships, neither carrying flag for their perticular respects, to change each with other a dozen payre of shott, with hurt to both, being after too late to repent their follie. Yea a person of credit hath told mee, that two English men of warre in the night, have layed each other aboard willingly, with losse of many men and dammage to both, onely for the fault of not speaking one to the other; which might seem to carrie with it some excuse, if they had beene neere the shore, or that the one had beene a hull,<sup>1</sup> and the other under sayle, in feare shee should have escaped, not knowing what shee was (though in the night it is no wisdom to bourd with any ship), but in the maine sea, and both desiring to joyne, was a sufficient declaration that both were seekers; and therefore by day or night, he that can speake with the ship hee seeth, is bound, upon payne to be reputed voyd of good government, to hayle her before hee shoote at her. Some man

**Object.** may say, that in the meanetime, shee might gaine the

**Answer.** winde: in such causes, and many others, necessity giveth exception to all lawes; and experience teacheth what is fit to be done.

**Master Thomas Hampton.**

Master Thomas Hampton,<sup>2</sup> once generall of a flete of

<sup>1</sup> Under bare poles.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Thomas Hampton served with his father, Sir John Hawkins. See page 6 and page 7 (n.).

all the fleete was in safetie ; and then they placed themselves round about the fleete ; the vice-admirall sea-most and leemost ; which we have taught unto most nations, and they observe it now a dayes better then we, to our shame, that being the authors and reformers of the best discipline and lawes in sea causes, are become those which doe now worst execute them.

Sect. II

The Right  
authors of  
sea disci-  
pline.

And I cannot gather whence this contempt hath growne, except of the neglect of discipline, or rather in giving commands for favour to those which want experience of what is committed to their charge : or that there hath bene little curiositie in our countrey in writing of the discipline of the sea ; which is not lesse necessary for us, then that of the law ; and I am of opinion, that the want of experience is much more tollerable in a generall by land, than in a governor by sea : for in the field, the lieutenant generall, the sergeant major, and the coronels supply what is wanting in the generall, for that they all command, and ever there is place for counsell, which in the sea by many accidents is denied ; and the head is he that manageth all, in whom alone if there be defect, all is badly governed, for, by ignorance how can errors be judged or reformed ? And therefore I wish all to take upon them that which they understand, and refuse the contrary.

By them  
again  
neglected

As Sir Henry Palmer, a wise and valiant gentleman, a great commander, and of much experience in sea causes, being appoynted by the queens majesties counsell, to goe for generall of a fleete for the coast of Spaine, anno 1583, submitting himselfe to their lordships pleasure, excused the charge, saying, that his trayning up had beene in the narrow seas ; and that of the other he had little experience : and therefore was in dutie bound to intreate their honours to make choice of some other person, that was better acquainted and experimented in those seas ; that her majestie and their lordships might be the better served. His modestie

The modesty of  
Henry Palmer.

Sect. I.

The honour  
of his  
majesties  
ships.

not permitted: at least, in our seas, if a stranger fleete meete with any of his majesties ships, the forraigners are bound to take in their flags, or his majesties ships to force them to it, though thereof follow the breach of peace or whatsoever discommodity. And whosoever should not be jealous in this point, hee is not worthy to have the command of a cock-boat committed unto him: yea no stranger ought to open his flag in any port of England, where there is any shipp or fort of his majesties, upon penaltie to loose his flagg, and to pay for the powder and shott spend upon him. Yea, such is the respect to his majesties shippes in all places of his dominions, that no English ship displayeth the flagge in their presence, but runneth the like daunger, except they be in his majesties service: and then they are in predicament of the kings ships. Which good discipline in other kingdomes is not in that regard as it ought, but sometimes through ignorance, sometimes of malice, neglect is made of that dutie and acknowledgement which is required, to the cost and shame of the ignorant and malicious.

Practised at  
the com-  
ming in of  
King Philip  
into Eng-  
land.

In queen Maries raigno, king Philip of Spaine, comming to marry with the queene, and meeting with the royall navie of England, the lord William Howard, high admirall of England, would not consent, that the king in the narrow seas should carrie his flagge displayed, untill he came into the harbour of Plimouth.

And in the  
passage of  
Donna Anna  
de Austria.

I being of tender yeares, there came a fleete of Spaniards of above fiftie sayle of shippes, bound for Flaunders, to fetch the qucen, Donna Anna de Austria,<sup>1</sup> last wife to Philip the second of Spaine, which entred betwixt the iland and the maine, without vayling their top-sayles, or taking in of their flags: which my father, Sir John Hawkins, (admirall

<sup>1</sup> Anne, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian and of Maria, sister of Philip II, was born in 1549. She married her uncle, Philip II, as his fourth wife, in 1570, and was mother of Philip III. She died in 1580.

butes. As was plainly seene in the *Revenge*, which was  
 ever the unfortunatist ship the late queenes majestie had  
 during her raigne; for coming out of Ireland, with Sir  
 John Perrot,<sup>1</sup> shee was like to be cast away upon the  
 Kentish coast. After, in the voyage of Sir John Hawkins,  
 my father, anno 1586, shee strucke aground coming into  
 Plimouth, before her going to sea. Upon the coast of  
 Spaine, shee left her fleete, readie to sinke with a great  
 leake: at her returne into the harbour of Plimouth, shee  
 beate upon Winter stone; and after, in the same voyage,  
 going out at Portsmouth haven, shee ranne twice aground;  
 and in the latter of them, lay twentie-two houres beating  
 upon the shore: and at length, with eight foote of water in  
 hold, shee was forced off, and presently ranne upon the  
 Oose: and was cause that shee remained there (with other  
 three ships of her majesties) six months, till the spring of  
 the yeare; when coming about to bee decked,<sup>2</sup> entring  
 the river of Thames, her old leake breaking upon her,  
 had liked to have drowned all those which were in her. In  
 anno 1591, with a storme of wind and weather, riding at her  
 moorings in the river of Rochester, nothing but her bare  
 masts over head, shee was turned topsie-turvie, her kele  
 uppermost: and the cost and losse shee wrought, I have  
 too good cause to remember, in her last voyage, in which  
 shee was lost, when shee gave England and Spain just  
 cause to remember her. For the Spaniards, themselves  
 confesse, that three of their ships sunko by her side, and  
 was the death of above 1500 of their men, with the losse

Sect. 1.

The  
*Revenge*.See Mast  
Haciuta  
Relations.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Perrot, an experienced soldier, was appointed President of Munster in 1571. In 1584 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland. Froude describes him (xii, p. 201) "as a straightforward soldier, vain, passionate, but anxious to do what was right". Sir John Chichester, who was afterwards Lord Deputy, married his daughter Letitia. Perrot was superseded, at his own request, in 1588; false accusations were brought against him, and he died of a broken heart in the Tower.

<sup>2</sup> Docked?



Sect. I. Whereunto the Spanish generall replyed, that he knew not any offence he had committed, and that he would be glad to know wherein he had misbehaved himselfe. My father seeing he pretended to escape by ignorance, beganne to put him in mind of the custome of Spaine and Fraunce, and many other parts, and that he could by no meanes be ignorant of that, which was common right to all princes in their kingdomes; demanding, if a fleete of England should come into any port of Spaine (the kings majesties ships being present), if the English should carry their flags in the toppe, whether the Spanish would not shoote them downe; and if they persevered, if they would not beate them out of their port. The Spanish generall confessed his fault, pleaded ignorance not malice, and submitted himselfe to the penaltie my father would impose: but intreated, that their princes (through them) might not come to have any jarre. My father a while (as though offended), made himselfe hard to be intreated, but in the end, all was shut up by his acknowledgement, and the auncient amitie renewed, by feasting each other aboard and ashore.

As also in  
her re-  
passage.

The self same fleete, at their returne from Flaunders, meeting with her majesties shippes in the Channell, though sent to accompany the aforesaid queene, was constrained during the time that they were with the English, to vayne their flagges, and to acknowledge that which all must doe that passe through the English seas.<sup>1</sup> But to our voyage.

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<sup>1</sup> In those days the principle of "mare clausum" was acted upon; now it is "mare liberum" everywhere.

## SECTION XI.

COMMING within the hayling of the hulke, wee demanded Sect. xii.  
whence shee was? Whether shee was bound? And what  
her loading? Shee answered, that shee was of Denmarke,  
comming from Spaine, loaden with salt; we willed her to  
strike her top-sayles, which shee did, and shewed us her  
charter-parties, and billes of loading, and then saluted us,  
as in the manner of the sea, and so departed.

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## SECTION XII.

THE next day the wind became southerly, and somewhat  
too much, and my shipps being all deepe loaden, beganne  
to feel the tempest, so that wee not able to lye by it,  
neither a hull nor a try, and so with an easie sayle bare up  
before the wind, with intent to put into Falmouth; but  
God was pleased that comming within tenne leagues of  
Sylly, the wind vered to the north-east, and so we went on  
in our voyage.

Thwart of the Flees of Bayon,<sup>1</sup> wee met with a small  
ship of master Wattes,<sup>2</sup> of London, called the *Elizabeth*,  
which came out of Plimouth some eyght dayes after us;  
of whom wee enformed ourselves of some particularities,  
and wrote certaine letters to our friends, making relation of  
what had past till that day, and so tooke our farewell each  
of the other. The like we did with a small carvell<sup>3</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> The islands that lie off Bayona, near Vigo.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Alderman Sir John Watts, Governor of the East India  
Company in 1601, and Lord Mayor 1606. In 1594 he was one of those  
who fitted out the fleet under Lancaster, for the Pernambuco voyage.

<sup>3</sup> *Carabela* (Spanish), a small vessel so called.

SECT. XII. Plymouth, which wee mett in the height of the rocke in Portingall.<sup>1</sup>

From thence wee directed our course to the ilands of Madera; and about the end of June, in the sight of the ilands, we descryed a sayle some three leagues to the east-wards, and a league to windward of us, which by her manner of working, and making, gave us to understand, that shee was one of the kings frigatts; for shee was long and snugg, and spread a large clewe, and standing to the west-wards, and wee to the east-wards to recover her wake, when we cast about, shee beganne to vere shete, and to goe away lasking;<sup>2</sup> and within two glasses, it was plainly seene that shee went from us, and so we followed on our course, and shee seeing that, presently stroke her top-sayles, which our pynace perceiving, and being within shot continued the chase, till I shot off a peece and called her away; which fault many runne into, thinking to get thereby, and sometimes loose themselves by being too bold to venture from their fleete; for it was impossible for us, being too leeward, to take her, or to succour our owne, shee being a ship of about two hundred tunnes.

The dutie of  
pynaces.

And pynaces to meddle with ships, is to buy repentance at too deare a rate. For their office is, to wayte upon their fleete, in calmes (with their oares) to follow a chase, and in occasions to anchor neere the shore, when the greater ships cannot, without perill; above all, to be readie and obedient at every call. Yet will I not, that any wrest my meaning; neither say I, that a pynace, or small ship armed, may not take a great ship unarmed; for daily experience teacheth us the contrary.

The Madera  
Ilands.

The Madera Ilands are two: the greater, called La Madera, and the other, Port Santo; of great fertilitie, and rich in sugar, conserves, wine, and sweet wood, whereof

<sup>1</sup> Still well known as the rock of Lisbon.

<sup>2</sup> With the wind abeam.

they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but Sect. xii.  
 these are the principall. The chiefe towne and port is on  
 the souther side of the Madera, well fortified; they are sub-  
 ject to the kingdome of Portingall; the inhabitants and  
 garrison all Portingalles.

The third of July, we past along the Ilands of Canaria, Canarie  
Ilands.  
 which have the name of a kingdome, and containe these  
 seaven ilands: Grand Canaria, Tenerifa, Palma, Gomera,  
 Lancerota, Forteventura, and Fierro. These ilands have  
 abundance of wine, sugar, conserves, orcall,<sup>1</sup> pitch, iron,  
 and other commodities, and store of cattell, and corne, but  
 that a certaine worme, called *gorgosho*, breedeth in it, Gorgosho.  
 which eateth out the substance, leaving the husk in manner  
 whole. The head iland, where the justice, which they call  
*Audiencia*, is resident, and whither all sutes have their  
 appealation and finall sentence, is the grand Canaria,  
 although the Tenerifa is held for the better and richer  
 iland, and to have the best sugar; and the wine of the  
 Palma is reputed for the best. The pitch of these ilands  
 melteth not with the sunne, and therefore is proper for  
 the higher works of shipping. Betwixt Forteventura and  
 Lancerota is a goodly sound, fit for a meeting place for any  
 fleete; where is good anchoring and abundance of many  
 sorts of fish. There is water to be had in most of these  
 ilands, but with great vigilance. For the naturalls of them  
 are venturous and hardie, and many times clime up and  
 downe the steepe rockes and broken hills, which seeme im-  
 possible, which I would hardly have beleaved, had I not  
 seene it, and that with the greatest art and agilitie that  
 may be. Their armes, for the most part, are launces of  
 nine or ten foote, with a head of a foote and halfe long, like  
 unto bore-spears, save that the head is somewhat more  
 broad.

Two things are famous in these ilands, the Pike of Tene-

<sup>1</sup> *Orchilla*—a lichen yielding a purple dye.



**Sect. XII.** rifa, which is the highest land in my judgement that I have  
**The descrip-** seene, and men of credit have told they have seene it more  
**tion of** than fortie leagues off.<sup>1</sup> It is like unto a sugar loafe, and  
**Tenerifa.** continually covered with snow, and placed in the midst  
 of a goodly vallie, most fertile, and temperate round about  
 it. Out of which, going up to the Pike, the colde is so  
 great, that it is insufferable, and going downe to the townes  
 of the iland, the heate seemeth most extreame, till they  
**Of a tree in** approach neere the coast. The other is a tree in the iland  
**Fierro.** of Fierro, which some write and affirme, with the dropping  
 of his leaves, to give water for the sustenance of the whole  
 iland, which I have not seene, although I have beene on  
 shoare on the iland; but those which have seene it, have  
 recounted this mysterie differently to that which is written;  
 in this manner: that this tree is placed in the bottome of a  
 valley, ever flourishing with broad leaves, and that round  
 about it are a multitude of goodly high pynes, which over-  
 top it, and as it seemeth were planted by the divine provi-  
 dence to preserve it from sunne and wind. Out of this  
 valley ordinarily rise every day great vapours and exhala-  
 tions, which by reason that the sunne is hindered to worke  
 his operation, with the heighte of the mountaines towards  
 the south-east, convert themselves into moysture, and so  
 bedewe all the trees of the valley, and from those which  
 over-top this tree, drops down the dewe upon his leaves,  
 and so from his leaves into a round well of stone, which the  
 naturalls of the land have made to receive the water, of  
 which the people and cattle have great reliefe; but some-  
 times it raineth, and then the inhabitants doe reserve water  
 for many days to come, in their cisternes and tynaxes,<sup>2</sup>  
 which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally  
 sustaine themselves.

The citty of the Grand Canaria, and chiefe port, is on the

<sup>1</sup> Captain Vidal, R.N., made the height of the Peak 12,370 feet.

<sup>2</sup> *Tinaja* (Sp.), a large wide-mouthed jar for catching rain.

west side of the island; the head town and port of Tenerifa is towards the south part, and the port and towne of the Palma and Gomera, on the east side. Sect. XIII.

In Gomera, some three leagues south-ward from the towne, is a great river of water, but all these ilands are perilous to land in, for the seege<sup>1</sup> caused by the ocean sea, which always is forcible, and requireth great circumspection; whosoever hath not urgent cause, is either to goe to the east-wards, or the west-wards of all these ilands, as well to avoyd the calmes, which hinder sometimes eight or ten dayes sayling, as the contagion which their distemperature is wont to cause, and with it to breed calenturas, which wee call burning fevers. These ilands are sayd to be first discovered by a Frenchman, called John de Betancourt, about the year 1405.<sup>2</sup> They are now a kingdome subject to Spaine.

The first discoverers of these ilands.

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SECTION XIII.

BEING cleare of the ilands, wee directed our course for Cape Black,<sup>3</sup> and two howres before sunne set, we had sight of a carvell some league in the winde of us, which seemed to come from Gynea, or the ilands of Cape de Verde, and for that hee, which had the sery-watch,<sup>4</sup> neglected to look out, being to lee-ward of the ilands, and so out of hope of sight of any shipp, for the little trade and contrariety of the winde, that though a man will, from few places hee can recover the ilands. Comming from the south-wards, wee had

<sup>1</sup> Further on written "sedge", surf (?).

<sup>2</sup> *The Canarian, or Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canarians in the Year 1402, by Messire Jean de Bethencourt; was translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. Major in 1872.*

<sup>3</sup> Cape Blanco.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the evening watch.

Sect. XIII. the winde of her, and perhaps the possession also, whereof men of warre are to have particular care ; for in an houre and place unlookt for, many times chance accidents contrary to the ordinary course and custome ; and to have younkers in the top continually, is most convenient and necessary, not onely for descrying of sayles and land, but also for any sudden gust or occasion that may be offered.

Exercises  
upon the  
southwards  
of the  
countries.

Seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinary accident, I beganne to set in order my companie and victuals. And for that to the south-wards of the Canaries is for the most part an idle navigation, I devised to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hott countries is neither profitable nor healthfull), as also to divert them from remembrance of their home, and from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idleness is cause of ; and so shifting my companie, as the custome is, into starboord and larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whilest the others slept and take rest ; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertayned to each, to be imploied in this manner ; the one for the use and clensing of their armes, the other for roomeging, making of sayles, nettings, decking, and defences for our shippes ; and the third, for clensing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and necessaries, which though it came to be practised but once in seaven dayes, for that the Sabboth is ever to be reserved for God alone, with the ordinary obligation which each person had besides, was many times of force to be omitted. And thus wee entertained our time with a fayre wind, and in few dayes had sight of the land of Barbary, some dozen leagues to the northwards of Cape Black.

Before wee came to the Cape, wee tooke in our sayles, and made preparation of hookes and lines to fish. For in all that coast is great abundance of sundry kinds of fish,

three great offences: 1, Robbery of the goods of another person; 2, breach of their faith and promise; 3, and hindering (with losse of time) unto the voyage; all being a common injury to the owners, victuallers, and company; which many times hath beene an utter overthrow and undoing to all in generall. An abuse in our common-wealth necessarily to be reformed; and as a person that hath both seen, and felt by experience, these inconveniences, I wish to be remedied; for, I can but wonder, that the late lord high admiral of England, the late Earle of Cumberland;<sup>1</sup> and the Lord Thomas Howard,<sup>2</sup> now Earle of Suffolke, being of so great authoritie, having to their cost and losse so often made experience of the inconveniences of these lewd proceedings, have not united their goodnesses and wisdomes to redress this dis-loyall and base absurditie of the vulgar.

<sup>1</sup> George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, was born in 1558. He first sent forth a fleet of three ships, for discovery, in 1586, which returned without accomplishing anything. In 1588 he himself commanded the *Elizabeth Bonaventure* in the fleet against the Spanish Armada. In the same year he fitted out a second fleet; and in 1589 he sailed in the *Victory*, with two other ships, for the West Indies. He took the town of Fayal, and captured twenty-eight prizes worth £20,000; but suffered great hardships, and was severely wounded. In 1591 he again sailed with five ships for the Mediterranean, and in 1592 his fleet was at the Azores. In 1593 he sailed, with Monson as his second in command, for the West Indies; and in 1594 annoyed the Spaniards at the Azores. He then built a fine ship at Deptford, named by Queen Elizabeth the *Malice Scourge*. He sailed in it, with nineteen other ships, in 1598, and harassed the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. He sold this ship to the East India Company. The Earl of Cumberland died in 1605, and was buried at Skipton.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Thomas Howard was the eldest son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Lord Audley of Walden. He was born in 1561, and commanded a ship in the fleet of 1588, when he was knighted. In 1591 he was off the Azores, retiring on the approach of a superior Spanish force. He also served in the expedition to Cadiz, under Essex, in 1596. In 1597 he was created Lord Howard of Walden, and in 1603 James created him Earl of Suffolk. He died in 1626. One of his daughters was the notorious Countess of Somerset, the other was Countess of Salisbury, and he had eight sons.

Sect. VII.

Master  
Thomas  
Candish.

Master Thomas Candish, in his last voyage, in the sound of Plimouth, being readie to set sayle, complained unto me, that persons which had absented themselves in impresta, had cost him above a thousand and five hundred pounds: these varlets within a few dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streets of Plimouth, whom the justice had before sought for with great diligence; and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to do the like. *Impunitas peccandi illecebra.*

Master  
George Rey-  
mond.

The like complaint made master George Reymond;<sup>1</sup> and in what sort they deal with me is notorious, and was such, that if I had not beene provident to have had a third part more of men then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the sea unmanned; or to give over my voyage. And many of my company, at sea, vaunted how they had cosoned the Earle of Cumberland, master Candish, master Reymond, and others; some of five pounds, some of ten, some of more, and some of lesse. And truely, I thinke, my voyage prospered the worse, for theirs and other lewd persons company, which were in my ship; which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinary, severe, and present justice, to be executed on the offenders by the justice in that place where they should be found. And for finding them, it were good that all captaines, and masters of shippes, at their departure out of the port, should give unto the head justice, the names and signes of all their runnawayes, and they presently to dispatch to the nigher ports the advise agreeable, where meeting with them, without further delay or processe, to use martial law upon them. Without doubt, seeing the law once put in execution, they and all others would be terrified from such villanies.

<sup>1</sup> Captain George Raymond commanded the expedition of three ships which undertook the first voyage to the East Indies in 1591. He was in the *Penelope*, and his second, James Lancaster, was in the *Edward Bonaventure*. But the two ships parted company after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and Raymond was never heard of again.

to man. For where this starre entreth with the moone, it maketh voyde her hurtfull enfluence, and where not, it is most perilous. Which, if it be so, is a notable secret of the divine Providence, and a speciall cause amongst infinite others, to move us to continuall thankesgiving: for that he hath so extraordinarily compassed and fenced us from infinite miseries, his most unworthie and ungratefull creatures.

Sect. XIII.

Of these ilands are two pyles:<sup>1</sup> the one of them lyeth out of the way of trade, more westerly, and so little frequented; the other lyeth some fourscore leagues from the mayne, and containeth six in number, to wit: Saint Iago, Fuego, Mayo, Bonavisto, Sal, and Bravo.<sup>2</sup>

They are belonging to the kingdome of Portingall, and inhabited by people of that nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbour-hood they have with Guyne and Bynne;<sup>3</sup> but the principall is the buying and selling of negroes. They have store of sugar, salt, rice, cotton wool, and cotton-cloth, amber-greece, cyvit, oliphants teeth, brimstone, pummy stone, sponge, and some gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago is the head iland, and hath one citie and two townes, with their ports. The cittie called Sant Iago, whereof the iland hath his name, hath a garrison, and two fortes, scituated in the bottome of a pleasant valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middest of it, whither the rest of the ilands come for justice, being the seat of the Audiencia, with his bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Groups.

<sup>2</sup> The Cape Verde Islands are Sant' Antao, Sao Vicente, Santa Luzia, Sao Nicolao, Sal, Boa Vista, Maio, San Thiago, and Brava. They are between 14° 20' and 17° 20' N. and 22° 25' and 35° 30' W. Boa Vista, the nearest, is two hundred miles from the coast of Africa. The group was discovered in 1446 by an expedition sent by Prince Henry, but it was known to the ancients under the name of Insulæ Gorgones.

<sup>3</sup> Coast of Guinea and Bight of Benin.

Sect. XIII.

The other townes are Playa,<sup>1</sup> some three leagues to the eastwards of Saint Iago, placed on high, with a goodly bay, whereof it hath his name; and Saint Domingo, a small towne within the land. They are on the souther part of the iland, and have beene sacked sundry times in anno 1582, by Manuel Serades, a Portingall, with a fleete of French-men; in anno 1585, they were both burnt to the ground by the English, Sir Francis Drake being generall;<sup>2</sup> and in anno 1596, Saint Iago was taken and sacked by the English, Sir Anthony Shyrley being generall.<sup>3</sup>

Sacked by  
Manuel Se-  
rades, Sir  
Francis  
Drake, and  
Sir Anthony  
Shyrley.

Fuego.

The second iland is Fuego; so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a vulcan, whose flames in the night are seene twentie leagues off in the sea. It is by nature fortified in that sort, as but by one way is any accesse, or entrance into it, and there cannot goe up above two men a brest. The bread which they spend in these ilands, is brought from Portingall and Spaine, saving that which they make of rice, or of mayes, which wee call Guynne-wheate.

<sup>1</sup> Porto Praya.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Drake sailed, in 1585, with a fleet of twenty sail to make reprisals on the Spaniards in the West Indies. His captains were Fenner, Frobisher, Knollis, and Carlisle to command the troops. They left Plymouth in September, took Porto Praya, and then proceeded to the West Indies.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Shirley was one of the famous three brothers, sons of Sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston in Sussex. He was born in 1568, and first served under the Earl of Essex in Brittany, but was recalled in 1593 for receiving an order of knighthood from Henry IV. An account of the expedition to the West Indies, in the course of which he sacked Santiago, is given by Hakluyt. In 1598 he left England, served in the Low Countries with Sir Francis Vere, and then went by Venice to Persia, where he was well received by Shah Abbas the Great. There are accounts of his travels by W. Parry, printed in 1601, by A. Nixon, 1607, and by Sir Anthony himself, 1613. Abbas sent Sir Anthony Shirley as ambassador to the Princes of Europe, which employment took him to Moscow, Prague, Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, and Morocco. He eventually took service under the King of Spain, and was living in Spain as late as 1636. See *The Shirley Brothers*.

Which is a poynt of speciall importance; for that I have Sect. viii  
seene commanders of great name and reputation, by neglect  
and omission of such solemnities, to have runne into many  
inconveniencies, and thereby have learnt the necessitie of  
it. Whereby I cannot but advise all such as shall have  
charge committed unto them, ever before they depart out  
of the port, to give unto their whole fleete, not onely  
directions for civill government, but also where, when, and  
how to meete, if they should chance to loose company, and  
the signes how to know one another a-far off, with other  
poynts and circumstances, as the occasions shall minister  
matter different, at the discretion of the wise commander.

But some may say unto me, that in all occasions it is not  
convenient to give directions: for that if the enemy happen  
upon any of the fleete, or that there be any treacherous  
person in the company, their designments may be dis-  
covered, and so prevented.

To this I answer, that the prudent governour, by good  
consideration may avoyde this, by publication of that which  
is good and necessarie for the guide of his fleete and  
people; by all secret instructions, to give them sealed,  
and not to be opened, but comming to a place appoynted  
(after the manner of the Turkish direction to the Bashawes,  
who are their generalls); and in any eminent perill to cast  
them by the boord, or otherwise to make away with them,  
for he that setteth sayle, not giving directions in writing to  
his fleete, knoweth not, if the night or day following, he  
may be separated from his company: which happeneth  
sometimes: and then, if a place of meeting be not knowne,  
he runneth in danger not to joyne them together agayne.

And for places of meeting, when seperation happeneth,  
I am of opinion, to appoynt the place of meeting in such a  
height, twentie, or thirtie, or fortie leagues off the land or  
iland. East or west is not so fitting, if the place afford it,  
as some sound betwixt ilands, or some iland, or harbour.



Sect. XIII. feeding on them. The best that I have seene are in Brasill,  
Placentia. in an iland called Placentia, which are small, and round,  
 and greene when they are ripe; whereas the others in  
 ripning become yellow. Those of the West Indies and  
 Guynne are great, and one of them sufficient to satisfie a  
 man; the onely fault they have is, that they are windie.  
 In some places they eate them in stead of bread, as in  
 Panama, and other parts of Tierra Firme. They grow and  
 prosper best when their rootes are ever covered with water;  
 they are excellent in conserve, and good sodden in different  
 manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to suckett.<sup>1</sup>

The cocos,  
 and their  
 kindes.

The coco nutt is a fruit of the fashion of a hassell nutt,  
 but that it is as bigge as an ordinary bowle, and some are  
 greater. It hath two shells, the uttermost framed (as it  
 were) of a multitude of threeds, one layd upon another,  
 with a greene skinne over-lapping them, which is soft and  
 thicke; the innermost is like to the shell of a hassell nutt  
 in all proportion, saving that it is greater and thicker, and  
 some more blacker. In the toppe of it is the forme of a  
 munkies face, with two eyes, his nose, and a mouth. It  
 containeth in it both meate and drinke; the meate white  
 as milke, and like to that of the kernell of a nutt, and as  
 good as almonds blancht, and of great quantitie: the water  
 is cleare, as of the fountaine, and pleasing in taste, and  
 somewhat answereth that of the water distilled of milke.  
 Some say it hath a singular propertie in nature for con-  
 serving the smoothnesse of the skinne; and therefore in  
 Spaine and Portingall, the curious dames doe ordinarily  
 wash their faces and necks with it. If the holes of the  
 shell be kept close, they keepe foure or six moneths good,  
 and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the  
 shell, in few dayes it turneth to vineger.

They grow upon high trees, which have no boughes;  
 onely in the top they have a great cap of leaues, and under

<sup>1</sup> *Succade*—preserved citron.

workman is to calke; that if there be damage through his Sect. I.  
 default, he may be forced to contribute towards the losse  
 occasioned through his negligence.

And for more securitie I hold it for a good custome used For preven-  
tion thereof  
 in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching  
 the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will  
 undoubtedly discover the defect, for no pitcht place with-  
 out calking, can suffer the force and peaze<sup>1</sup> of the water.  
 In neglect whereof, I have seene great damage and danger  
 to ensue. The *Arke Royall* of his majesties, may serve for Example.  
 an example: which put all in danger at her first going  
 to the sea, by a trivuell hole left open in the post,<sup>2</sup> and  
 covered only with pitch. In this point no man can be too  
 circumspect, for it is the security of ship, men and goods.<sup>3</sup>

## SECTION I.

This being remedied, I set sayle in the morning, and ran  
 south-west, till we were cleere of Ushent; and then south  
 south-west, till we were some hundred leagues off, where  
 wee met with a great hulke, of some five or six hundred  
 tonnes, well appointed, the which my company (as is natu-  
 rall to all mariners), presently would make a prize, and  
 loaden with Spaniard's goods; and without speaking to her,  
 wished that the gunner might shoote at her, to cause her  
 to amaine.<sup>4</sup> Which is a bad custome received and used of Advice for  
shooting a  
sea.  
 many ignorant persons, presently to gun at all whatsoever  
 they discover, before they speake with them; being con-

<sup>1</sup> Weight—*peso*. (Spanish.)

<sup>2</sup> Stern-post.

<sup>3</sup> A trivial hole left open, or a treenail not driven by a careless work-  
 man, may cause the failure of an important expedition; or at least cause  
 great mischief and discomfort: which neglect still occasionally happens.

<sup>4</sup> *Amener le pavillon*—to haul down the ensign.

Sect. XIV.

twentie of Julie, but a fayre gale of wind and a smooth sea, so that wee might beare all a taunt;<sup>1</sup> and to advantage ourselves what wee might, wee stode to the east-wards, being able to lye south-east and by south. The next day about nine of the clocke, my companie being gathered together to serve God, which wee accustomed to doe every morning and evening, it seemed unto me that the coulour of the sea was different to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily where is deepe water; and so calling the captaine, and master of my ship, I told them that to my seeming the water was become very whitish, and that it made shewe of sholde water. Whereunto they made answer, that all the lynes in our shippes could not fetch ground: for wee could not be lesse than threescore and tenne leagues off the coast, which all that kept reckoning in the ship agreed upon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so wee applyed ourselves to serve God, but all the time that the service endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water beganne to waxe whiter and whiter. Our prayers ended, I commanded a lead and a lyne to be brought, and heaving the lead in fourteene fathoms, wee had ground, which put us all into a maze, and sending men into the toppe, presently discovered the land of Guynne, some five leagues from us, very low land. I commanded a peece to be shott, and lay by the lee, till my other shippes came up. Which hayling us, wee demanded of them how farre they found themselves off the land; who answered, some threescore and tenne, or fourescore leagues: when wee told them wee had sounded and found but fourteene fathomes, and that we were in sight of land, they began to wonder. But having consulted what was best to be done, I caused my shalop to be manned, which I towed at the sterne of my ship continually, and sent her and my pynace

<sup>1</sup> *All sail set*—at present its signification is confined to a vessel rigged and ready for sea.

wafters, sent to Rochell, anno 1585, with secret instructions, considering (and as a man of experience), wisely understanding his place and affaires, in like case shut his care to the investigations and provocations of the common sort, preferring the publique good of both kingdomes before his owne reputation with the vulgar people: and as another Fabius Maximus, *cunctando restituit rem, non ponendo rumores ante salutem*. The French kings fleete comming where he was, and to winde-ward of him, all his company were in an uproare; for that hee would not shoote presently at them, before they saw their intention: wherein had beene committed three great faults: the first and principall, the breach of amitie betwixt the princes and kingdomes: the second, the neglect of common courtesie, in shooting before hee had spoken with them: and the third, in shooting first, being to lee-wards of the other.

Sect. x.

The French  
and English  
fleets salute  
one another

Besides, there was no losse of reputation, because the French kings fleete was in his owne sea; and therefore for it to come to winde-ward, or the other to go to lee-ward, was but that which in reason was required, the kingdomes being in peace and amitie. For every prince is to be acknowledged and respected in his jurisdiction, and where hee pretendeth it to be his.

The French generall likewise seemed well to understand what he had in hand; for though he were farre superiour in forces, yet used hee the termes which were required; and comming within speech, hayled them, and asked if there were peace or warre betwixt England and France: whereunto answer being made that they knew of no other but peace, they saluted each other after the manner of the sea, and then came to an anchor all together, and as friends visited each other in their ships.

One thing the French suffered (upon what occasion or ground I know not), that the English alwayes carried their flag displayed; which in all other partes and kingdomes is

The English  
carry up  
their flag  
the French  
seas.

Sect. xv.

though the most part of their company saved themselves upon raffles; but with the contagion of the countrie, and bad entreatie which the negros gave them, they died; so that there returned not to their country above three or foure of them.

But God Almightye dealt more mercifully with us, in shewing us our error in the day, and in time that wee might remedie it; to him be evermore glory for all.

This currant from the line equinoctiall, to twentie degrees northerly, hath great force, and setteth next of anything east, directly upon the shore; which we found by this meanes: standing to the westwards, the wind southerly, when we lay with our ships head west, and by south, we gayned in our heith<sup>1</sup> more then if wee had made our way good west south-west; for that, the currant tooke us under the bow: but lying west, or west and by north, we lost more in twelve houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the currant did set east next of any thing. Whether this currant runneth over one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes understand, but tract of time and observation will discover this, as it hath done of many others in sundry seas.

The currant that setteth betwixt New-found-land and Spaine, runneth also east and west, and long time deceived many, and made some to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was speedie or slowe; not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the currant was cause of the speeding or flowing of the way. And in sea cardes I have seene difference of above thirtie leagues betwixt the iland Tercera and the mayne. And others have recounted unto me, that comming from the Indias, and looking out for the ilands of Azores, they have had

<sup>1</sup> The term height is used for latitude; probably because the pole star was the principal object used to determine position.

me to feare the worst, and so hasted a shore, to satisfie my Sect. vii.  
longing.

And comming upon Catt-downe, wee might see the ship heave and sett, which manifestly shewed the losse of the mast onely, which was well imployed ; for it saved the ship, men, and goods. For had shee driven a ships length more, shee had (no doubt) beene cast away ; and the men in that place could not chuse but run into danger.

Comming to my house to shift me (for that we were all The losse of  
the pynace.  
wette to the skiune), I had not well changed my clothes, when a servant of mine, who was in the pynace at my comming ashore, enters almost out of breath, with newes, that she was beating upon the rocks, which though I knew to be remedillesse, I put my selfe in place where I might see her, and in a little time after she sunk downe right. These losses and mischances troubled and grieved, but nothing daunted me ; for common experience taught me, that all honourable enterprises are accompanied with difficulties and dangers ; *Si fortuna me tormenta ; Esperança me contenta* :<sup>1</sup> of hard beginnings, many times come prosperous and happy events. And although, a well-willing friend wisely foretold me them to be presages of future bad successe, and so dissuaded me what lay in him with effectual reasons, from my pretence, yet the hazard of my credite, and danger of disreputation, to take in hand that which I should not prosecute by all meanes possible, was more powerfull to cause me to goe forwardes, then his grave good counsell to make me desist. And so the storme ceasing, I beganne to get in the *Daintie*, to mast her a-new, and to recover the *Fancy*, my pynace, which, with the helpe and furtherance of my wives father, who supplied all my wants, together with my credit (which I thanke God was

<sup>1</sup> Obviously a phrase of the period. Ancient Pistol is made to say "Si fortuna me tormenta, spero me contenta".—*Henry IV*, 2nd Part, Act v, Scene 5.)

**Sect. xvi.** ing off and on, sometimes to the west-wards, sometimes to the east-wards, with a fayre gayle of winde.

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## SECTION XVI.

**The  
scurvey.**

BEING betwixt three or foure degrees of the equinoctiall line, my company within a few dayes began to fall sicke, of a disease which sea-men are wont to call the scurvey: and seemeth to bee a kind of dropsie, and raigneth most in this climate of any that I have heard or read of in the world; though in all seas it is wont to helpe and increase the miserie of man; it possesseth all those of which it taketh hold, with a loathesome sloathfulnesse, even to eate; they would be content to change their sleepe and rest, which is the most pernicious enemie in this sicknesse, that is knowne. It bringeth with it a great desire to drinke, and causeth a generall swelling of all parts of the body, especially of the legs and gums, and many times the teeth fall out of the jawes without paine.

**The signes.**

The signes to know this disease in the beginning are divers: by the swelling of the gummes, by denting of the flesh of the leggs with a mans finger, the pit remayning without filling up in a good space. Others show it with their lasinesse: others complaine of the cricke of the backe, etc., all which are, for the most part, certaine tokens of infection.

**The cause.**

The cause of this sicknes some attribute to sloath; some to conceite; and divers men speake diversly: that which I have observed is, that our nation is more subject unto it than any other; because being bred in a temperate clymate, where the naturall heate restrayned, giveth strength to the stomacke, sustayning it with meates of good nourishment, and that in a wholesome ayre; whereas comming into the

hot countries (where that naturall heate is dispersed through the whole body, which was wont to be proper to the stomache; and the meates for the most part preserved with salt, and its substance thereby diminished, and many times corrupted), greater force for digestion is now required than in times past; but the stomache finding less virtue to doe his office, in reparting to each member his due proportion in perfection, which either giveth it rawe, or remayneth with it indigested by his hardnes or cruditie, infeebleth the body, and maketh it unlusty and unfit for any thing; for the stomache being strong (though all parts els be weake), there is ever a desire to feede, and aptnes to perform what soever can be required of a man; but though all other members be strong and sound, if the stomache be opprest, or squemish, all the body is unlustie, and unfit for any thing, and yeeldeth to nothing so readily as sloathfulness, which is confirmed by the common answere to all questions: as, will you eate? will you sleepe? will you walke? will you play? The answere is, I have no stomache: which is as much as to say, no, not willingly: thereby confirming, that without a sound and whole stomache, nothing can bee well accomplished, nor any sustenance well digested.<sup>1</sup>

The seething of the meate in salt water, helpeth to cause this infirmitie, which in long voyages can hardly be avoyded: but if it may be, it is to be shunned; for the water of the sea to man's body is very unwholesome. The corruption of the victuals, and especially of the bread, is very pernicious; the vapours and ayre of the sea also is nothing profitable, especially in these hot countries, where are many

Sect. XVI.

Seething of  
meat in salt  
water.Corruption  
of victuall.Vapours of  
the sea.

<sup>1</sup> The cause of scurvy is now known to be the absence of fresh food, especially fresh vegetable food. Since greater attention has been paid to diet, and also to the cleanliness and ventilation of the vessel, and since long voyages have become of rare occurrence, this disease has nearly disappeared.



Sect. XVI. calmes. And were it not for the moving of the sea by the force of windes, tydes, and currants, it would corrupt all the world.

**Azores.** The experience I saw in anno 1590, lying with a fleete of her majesties ships about the ilands of the Azores, almost six moneths; the greatest part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the sea became so replenished with several sorts of gellyes, and formes of serpents, adders, and snakes, as seemed wonderfull: some greene, some blacke, some yellow, some white, some of divers coulours; and many of them had life, and some there were a yard and halfe, and two yards long; which had I not seene, I could hardly have beleaved. And hereof are witnesses all the companies of the ships which were then present; so that hardly a man could draw a buckett of water cleere of some corruption. In which voyage, towards the end thereof, many of every ship (saving of the *Nonpereil*, which was under my charge, and had onely one man sicke in all the voyage), fell sicke of this disease, and began to die apace, but that the speedie passage into our country was remedie to the crazed, and a preservative for those that were not touched. The best prevention for this disease (in my judgement) is to keepe cleane the shippe; to besprinkle her ordinarily with vinegar, or to burne tarre, and some sweet savours; to feed upon as few salt meats in the hot country as may be; and especially to shunne all kindes of salt fish, and to reserve them for the cold climates; and not to dresse any meate with salt water, nor to suffer the companie to wash their shirts nor cloathes in it, nor to sleepe in their cloaths when they are wett. For this cause it is necessarily required, that provision be made of apparell for the company, that they may have wherewith to shift themselves; being a common calamitie amongst the ordinary sort of mariners, to spend their thrift on the shore, and to bring to sea no more cloaths then they have backes. For the

**The remedies.**

**By dyet.**

**By shift.**

bodie of man is not refreshed with any thing more than Sect. xvi.  
with shifting cleane cloaths ; a great preservative of health  
in hott countries.

The second antidote is, to keepe the companie occupied  
in some bodily exercise of worke, of agilitie, of pastimes, of By labour.  
dauncing, of use of armes ; these helpeth much to banish  
this infirmitie. Thirdly, in the morning, at discharge of By early  
eating and  
drinking.  
the watch, to give every man a bit of bread, and a draught  
of drinke, either beere or wine mingled with water (at the  
least, the one halfe), or a quantitie mingled with beere, that  
the pores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of the  
sea ascend up.

The morning draught should be ever of the best and  
choycest of that in the ship. Pure wine I hold to be more  
hurtfull then the other is profitable. In this, others will  
be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not,  
then leave I the remedies thereof to those physitions and  
surgeons who have experience ; and I wish that some  
learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the  
sea, and the spoyle of mariners. Doubtlesse, it would be a  
meritorious worke with God and man, and most beneficiall  
for our countrie ; for in twentie yeares, since that I have  
used the sea, I dare take upon me to give accompt of ten  
thousand men consumed with this disease.

That which I have seene most fruitfull for this sicknesse,  
is sower oranges and lemmons, and a water which amongst By sower  
oranges  
and lemons.  
others (for my particular provision) I carryed to the sea,  
called Dr. Stevens his water, of which, for that his vertue By Doctor  
Stevens  
water.  
was not then well knowne unto me, I carryed but little,  
and it tooke end quickly, but gave health to those that  
used it.

The oyle of vitry<sup>1</sup> is beneficiall for this disease ; taking By oyle of  
vitry.  
two drops of it, and mingled in a draught of water, with a  
little sugar. It taketh away the thirst, and helpeth to

<sup>1</sup> Oil of vitriol or sulphuric acid.

Sect. XVI. clense and comfort the stomache. But the principall of  
 By the ayre of the land. all, is the ayre of the land ; for the sea is naturall for fishes,  
 and the land for men. And the oftener a man can have  
 his people to land, not hindering his voyage, the better it  
 is, and the profitablest course that he can take to refresh  
 them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are very interesting remarks on the scurvy. Sir Richard Hawkins takes a broader and more scientific view of the question than do the bigoted "lime-juicers" of the present day. The cause of scurvy is the absence of fresh food. The preventives, as Sir Richard truly says, are fresh food, good ventilation, cleanliness, and bodily exercise with amusements. Medicines, such as lime-juice, "Dr. Stevens his water", and "oyle of vitry", take a secondary place. They may help both as cures and preventives, but with other circumstances tending to produce the disease, lime-juice alone will neither prevent nor cure. The "Scurvy Committee", which recently reported on the outbreak in the Arctic Expedition of 1875-76 came to conclusions directly opposed to the evidence. None of the extended travelling parties of former Arctic expeditions took lime-juice except on one occasion, and on that one occasion alone was there an outbreak of scurvy. During the late expedition itself scurvy broke out in eight cases, when men were taking lime-juice regularly. The whole mass of evidence confirmed all former Arctic experience, and showed that the absence of lime-juice on some of the sledges was not the cause of the outbreak of scurvy. In the cases where lime-juice was not taken on sledges, the reason was that it could not have been used in the intense cold. The evidence also proved that lime-juice alone, without fresh food, will not cure the scurvy. Lime-juice, as Sir James Lancaster and Sir Richard Hawkins discovered three centuries ago, is an excellent medicine in helping to arrest the disease; but without the aid of good ventilation, cleanliness, and fresh food, lime-juice alone will neither prevent nor cure. The opposite conclusion of the "Scurvy Committee" is opposed to all the evidence they took, and to all experience. Of course every precaution should be taken against scurvy, and, as soon as fresh vegetable food is absent, daily rations of lime-juice must be taken when it is possible. In sledge travelling in the Arctic Regions, during April and May, it is not possible to take lime-juice in the form in which it is supplied to ships; and Sir George Nares was quite right not to send it.

For some further notices of outbreaks of scurvy in these early voyages, see the *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, etc., a volume issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1878, pages 4, 61, 62, 113, 222.

## SECTION XVII.

HAVING stood to the westwards some hundreth leagues and more, and the wind continuing with us contrarie, and the sicknesse so fervent, that every day there dyed more or lesse,—my companie in generall began to dismay, and to desire to returne homewards, which I laboured to hinder by good reasons and perswasions; as that to the West Indies we had not above eight hundreth leagues, to the ilands of Azores little lesse, and before we came to the ilands of Cape de Verde, that we should meete with the breze; for every night we might see the reach goe contrary to the winde which wee sayled by; verifying the old proverbe amongst mariners,—that he hath need of a long mast, that will sayle by the reach: and that the neerest land and speediest refreshing we could look for, was the coast of Brasill: and that standing towards it with the wind we had, we shortned our way for the Indies; and that to put all the sicke men together in one shippe, and to send her home was to make her their grave. For we could spare but few sound men, who were also subject to fall sicke, and the misery, notwithstanding, remedillesse. With which they were convinced, and remayned satisfied. So leaving all to their choyse, with the consideration of what I perswaded, they resolved, with me, to continue our course, till that God was pleased to looke upon us with his Fatherly eyes of mercie.

Sect. xvii.

The company sicke and dismayed.

As we approached neerer and neerer the coast of Brasill, <sup>Brasill.</sup> the wind began to veer to the east-wardes; and about the middle of October, to be large and good for us; and about the 18th of October, we were thwart of Cape Saint August-<sup>Cape S. Augustine.</sup> tine,<sup>1</sup> which lyeth in sixe degrees to the southwards of the

<sup>1</sup> Cape St. Agostinhos, in 8° 20' S.

Sect. XIII. the winde of her, and perhaps the possession also, wherof men of warre are to have particular care; for in an houre

Note. and place unlookt for, many times chance accidents contrary to the ordinary course and custome; and to have younkers in the top continually, is most convenient and necessary, not onely for descrying of sayles and land, but also for any sudden gust or occasion that may be offered.

Exercises upon the southwards of the countries.

Seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinary accident, I beganne to set in order my companie and victuals. And for that to the south-wards of the Canaries is for the most part an idle navigation, I devised to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hott countries is neither profitable nor healthfull), as also to divert them from remembrance of their home, and from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idleness is cause of; and so shifting my companie, as the custome is, into starboord and larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whilest the others slept and take rest; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertayned to each, to be imploied in this manner; the one for the use and clensing of their armes, the other for roomeging, making of sayles, nettings, decking, and defences for our shippes; and the third, for clensing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and necessities, which though it came to be practised but once in seaven dayes, for that the Sabbath is ever to be reserved for God alone, with the ordinary obligation which each person had besides, was many times of force to be omitted. And thus wee entertained our time with a fayre wind, and in few dayes had sight of the land of Barbary, some dozen leagues to the northwards of Cape Black.

Before wee came to the Cape, wee tooke in our sayles, and made preparation of hookes and lines to fish. For in all that coast is great abundance of sundry kinds of fish,

but especially of porgus, which we call breames; many Sect. xii  
 Portingalls and Spaniards goe yearely thither to fish, as  
 our country-men to the New-found-land, and within Cape  
 Black have good harbour for reasonable shipping, where  
 they dry their fish, paying a certaine easie tribute to the  
 kings collector. In two houres wee tooke store of fish for  
 that day and the next, but longer it would not keepe  
 goode: and with this refreshing set sayle again, and directed  
 our course betwixt the ilands of Cape de Verd and the Cape de  
Verd. Maine. These ilands are held to be scituate in one of the  
 most unhealthiest climates of the world, and therefore it is  
 wisdom to shunne the sight of them, how much more to  
 make abode in them.

In two times that I have beene in them, either cost us The un-  
wholsom-  
ness of the  
 the one halfe of our people, with fevers and fluxes of  
 sundry kinds; some shaking, some burning, some par-  
 taking of both: some possesst with frensie, others with  
 sloath, and in one of them it cost me six moneths sick-  
 nesse, with no small hazard of life; which I attribute to  
 the distemperature of the ayre, for being within fourteene  
 degrees of the equinoctiall lyne, the sunne hath great force  
 all the yeare, and the more for that often they passe, two,  
 three, and four yeares without rayne; and many times the  
 earth burneth in that manner as a man well shodd, cannot  
 endure to goe where the sunne shineth.

With which extreame heate the bodie fatigated, greedily The heat  
 desireth refreshing, and longeth the comming of the breze,  
 which is the north-east winde, that seldome fayleth in the The breze  
 after-noon at foure of the clocke, or sooner; which com-  
 ming cold and fresh, and finding the poores of the body  
 open, and (for the most part) naked, penetrateth the very  
 bones, and so causeth sudden distemperature, and sundry  
 manners of sicknesse, as the subjects are divers whereupon  
 they worke.

Departing out of the calmes of the ilands, and comming

**Sect. xvii.** the men to come to the pumpes, wherof shee had two which went with chaynes; and plying them, in a moment there was three or foure inches of water upon the decke, which with scoopes, swabbles,<sup>1</sup> and platters, they threw upon the fire, and so quenched it, and delivered both ship and men out of no small danger.

By hooping  
and scut-  
ling of  
caske.

Great care is to be had also in cleaving of wood, in hooping or scuttling<sup>2</sup> of caske, and in any businesse where violence is to be used with instruments of iron, steele, or stone: and especially in opening of powder, these are not to be used, but mallets of wood; for many mischances happen beyond all expectation.

I have been credibly enformed by divers persons, that comming out of the Indies, with scuttling a butt of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed up, and put all in hazard. And a servant of mine, Thomas Grey, told me, that in the shippe wherein he came out of the Indies, anno 1600, there happened the like; and that if with mantles they had not smothered the fire, they had bin all burned with a pipe of water, which in scutling took fire.

By nature  
of waters.

Master John Hazlelocke reported, that in the arsenall of Venice happened the like, he being present. For mine own part, I am of opinion, that some waters have this propertie, and especially such as have their passage by mines of brimstone, or other mineralls, which, as all men know, give extraordinary properties unto the waters by which they runne. Or it may be that the water being in wine caske, and kept close, may retayne an extraordinary propertie of the wine.<sup>3</sup> Yea, I have drunke fountaine and

<sup>1</sup> Swabs are a species of mop, made of a collection of rope yarns, used to dry the deck. *Swebban*—(Anglo-Saxon) to sweep.

<sup>2</sup> To scuttle—to make openings. *Escotilla* (Spanish), is applied to the openings in the deck, called by us hatch-ways. The term scuttle is also applied to the small openings made in the ship's side to admit light and air.

<sup>3</sup> If impure water be confined in a close cask, gas will be generated, and the effect described happen.

man. For where this starre entreth with the moone, it maketh voyde her hurtfull enfluence, and where not, it is most perilous. Which, if it be so, is a notable secret of the Divine Providence, and a speciall cause amongst infinite others, to move us to continuall thankesgiving: for that he hath so extraordinarily compassed and fenced us from infinite miseries, his most unworthie and ungratefull creatures.

Sect. XII

Of these ilands are two pyles:<sup>1</sup> the one of them lyeth out of the way of trade, more westerly, and so little frequented; the other lyeth some fourscore leagues from the mayne, and containeth six in number, to wit: Saint Iago, Fuego, Mayo, Bonavisto, Sal, and Bravo.<sup>2</sup>

They are belonging to the kingdome of Portingall, and inhabited by people of that nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbour-hood they have with Guyne and Bynne;<sup>3</sup> but the principall is the buying and selling of negroes. They have store of sugar, salt, rice, cotton wool, and cotton-cloth, amber-greece, cyvit, oliphants teeth, brimstone, pummy stone, sponge, and some gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago is the head iland, and hath one citie and two townes, with their ports. The cittie called Sant Iago, whereof the iland hath his name, hath a garrison, and two fortes, scituated in the bottome of a pleasant valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middest of it, whither the rest of the ilands come for justice, being the seat of the Audiencia, with his bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Groups.

<sup>2</sup> The Cape Verde Islands are Sant' Antao, Sao Vicente, Santa Luzia, Sao Nicolao, Sal, Boa Vista, Maio, San 'Thiago, and Brava. They are between 14° 20' and 17° 20' N. and 22° 25' and 35° 30' W. Boa Vista, the nearest, is two hundred miles from the coast of Africa. The group was discovered in 1446 by an expedition sent by Prince Henry, but it was known to the ancients under the name of Insulæ Gorgones.

<sup>3</sup> Coast of Guinea and Bight of Benin.



**THE ISLANDS.** The island known as *Praya* is some three leagues to the south-west of *Saint Lago*, placed on high, with a goodly bay, wherof it hath its name: and *Saint Domingo*, a small isle within the bay. They are on the southern part of the land, and have been sacked sundry times in anno 1581 by *Matthias Serpes*, a *Portingall*, with a fleet of French-men: in anno 1585, they were both burnt to the ground by the English, *Sir Francis Drake* being general;<sup>1</sup> and in anno 1595, *Saint Lago* was taken and sacked by the English, *Sir Anthony Shirley* being general.<sup>2</sup>

Sacked by  
Matthias Serpes  
Francis Drake  
and  
Sir Anthony Shirley

**Praya.** The second land is *Frage*; so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a volcano, whose flames in the night are seen some twelue leagues off in the sea. It is by nature fortified in that sort, as but by one way is any access, or entrance into it, and there cannot goe up above two men a breath. The bread which they spend in these lands, is brought from *Portingall* and *Spaine*, saving that which they make of rice, or of mayes, which wee call *Guyenne-wheate*.

#### <sup>1</sup> *Puerto Praya.*

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Francis Drake* sailed in 1585 with a fleet of twenty sail to make reprisals on the Spaniards in the West Indies. His captains were Fenner, Frobisher, Knollys, and Carlisle to command the troops. They left Plymouth in September, took *Puerto Praya*, and then proceeded to the West Indies.

<sup>2</sup> *Anthony Shirley* was one of the famous three brothers, sons of *Sir Thomas Shirley* of *Wiston* in *Sussex*. He was born in 1568, and first served under the *Earl of Essex* in *Brittany*, but was recalled in 1593 for receiving an order of knighthood from *Henry IV.* An account of the expedition to the West Indies, in the course of which he sacked *Santiago*, is given by *Hakluyt*. In 1598 he left England, served in the Low Countries with *Sir Francis Vere*, and then went by Venice to Persia, where he was well received by *Shah Abbas the Great*. There are accounts of his travels by *W. Parry*, printed in 1601, by *A. Nixon*, 1607, and by *Sir Anthony* himself, 1613. *Abbas* sent *Sir Anthony Shirley* as ambassador to the Princes of Europe, which employment took him to *Moscow*, *Prague*, *Rome*, *Lisbon*, *Madrid*, and *Morocco*. He eventually took service under the King of Spain, and was living in Spain as late as 1636. See *The Shirley Brothers*.

The best watering is in the ile of Bravo, on the west <sup>Sect. XIII.</sup>  
 part of the iland, where is a great river, but foule anchor- <sup>Bravo.</sup>  
 ing, as is in all these ilands, for the most part. The fruits  
 are few, but substantiall, as palmitos, plantanos, patatos,  
 and coco-nutts.

The palmito is like to the date tree, and as I thinke a <sup>The</sup>  
 kinde of it, but wilde. In all parts of Afrique and America <sup>Palmito.</sup>  
 they are found, and in some parts of Europe, and in divers  
 parts different. In Afrique, and in the West Indies they  
 are small, that a man may cut them with a knife, and the  
 lesser the better : but in Brazill, they are so great, that with  
 difficultie a man can fell them with an axe, and the greater  
 the better ; one foote within the top is profitable, the rest  
 is of no value ; and that which is to be eaten is the pith,  
 which in some is better, in some worse.

The plantane is a tree found in most parts of Afrique and <sup>The</sup>  
 America, of which two leaves are sufficient to cover a man <sup>plantane.</sup>  
 from top to toe. It beareth fruit but once, and then dryeth  
 away, and out of his roote sprouteth up others, new. In  
 the top of the tree is his fruit, which groweth in a great  
 bunch, in the forme and fashion of puddings, in some  
 more, in some lesse. I have seene in one bunch above  
 foure hundred plantanes, which have weighed above foure-  
 score pound waight. They are of divers proportions, some  
 great, some lesser, some round, some square, some triangle,  
 most ordinarily of a spanne long, with a thicke skinne, that  
 peeletth easily from the meate ; which is either white or yel-  
 low, and very tender like butter, but no conserve is better,  
 nor of a more pleasing taste. For I never have seene any  
 man to whom they have bred mis-like, or done hurt with  
 eating much of them, as of other fruites.

The best are those which ripen naturally on the tree, but  
 in most partes they cut them off in braunches, and hange  
 them up in their houses, and eate them as they ripe. For  
 the birds and vermine presently in ripning on the tree, are

Sect. XIX.

The dolphins and bonitos are taken with certaine instruments of iron which we call *vysgeis*,<sup>1</sup> in forme of an eel speare, but that the blades are round, and the poynts like unto the head of a broad arrow : these are fastened to long staves of ten or twelve foote long, with lynes tied unto them, and so shott to the fish from the beake-head, the poope, or other parts of the shippe, as occasion is ministered. They are also caught with hooks and lynes, the hooke being bayted with a redd cloth, or with a white cloth made into the forme of a fish, and sowed upon the hooke.

The sharks.

The shark, or tiberune, is a fish like unto those which wee call dogge-fishes, but that he is farre greater. I have seene of them eight or nine foote long ; his head is flatt and broad, and his mouth in the middle, underneath, as that of the scate ; and he cannot byte of the bayte before him, but by making a halfe turne ; and then he helpeth himselfe with his tayle, which serveth him in stead of a rudder. His skinne is rough (like to the fish which we call a rough hound), and russet, with reddish spottes, saving that under the belly he is all white : he is much hated of sea-faring men, who have a certaine foolish superstition with them, and say, that the ship hath seldome good successe, that is much accompanied with them.

It is the most ravenous fish knowne in the sea ; for he swalloweth all that he findeth. In the puch<sup>2</sup> of them hath beene found hatts, cappes, shooes, shirts, leggs and armes of men, ends of ropes, and many other things ; whatsoever is hanged by the shippes side, hee sheereth it, as though it were with a razor ; for he hath three rowes of teeth on either side, as sharpe as nailes ; some say they are good for pick-teeth. It hath chanced that a yonker casting himselfe into the sea to swimme, hath had his legge bitten off above the knee by one of them. And I have beene en-

<sup>1</sup> *Fisgig* or *grains*—a small trident used for striking fish. From the Spanish *fisga*.

<sup>2</sup> Pouch or stomach.

er groweth the fruite upon certaine twigs. And some Sect. xiv.  
 firme that they beare not fruite before they be above fortie  
 eares old, they are in all things like to the palme trees,  
 and grow in many parts of Asia, Afrique, and America.  
 The shels of these nuts are much esteemed for drinking  
 up, and much cost and labour is bestowed upon them in  
 carving, graving, and garnishing them, with silver, gold,  
 and precious stones.

In the kingdome of Chile, and in Brasill, is another kinde  
 of these, which they call coquillos (as wee may interpret,  
 little cocos) and are as big as wal-nuts; but round and  
 smooth, and grow in great clusters; the trees in forme are  
 all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they have no  
 water.

Another kinde of great cocos groweth in the Andes of  
 Peru, which have not the delicate meate nor drinke which  
 the others have, but within are full of almonds, which are  
 placed as the graines in the pomegrannet, being three times  
 bigger then those of Europe, and are much like them in  
 tast.

In these ilands are cyvet-cats, which are also found in Cyvet cats.  
 parts of Asia and Afrique; esteemed for the cyvet they  
 yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts,  
 which is taken from them by force.

In them also are store of monkies, and the best propor- Munkyes.  
 tioned that I have seene; and parrots, but of colour different  
 to those of the West Indies, for they are of a russet or gray Parrots.  
 colour, and great speakers.

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#### SECTION XIV.

WITH a faire and large winde, we continued our course, till  
 we came within five degrees of the equinoctiall lyne, where  
 the winde tooke us contrary by the south-west, about the

Sect. xix. are callet pilats fishes, and are ever upon his fynnes, his head, or his backe, and feed of the scraps and superfluities of his prayes. They are in forme of a trought, and streked like a makerell, but that the strekes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

Flying  
fishes.

The manner of hunting and hawking representeth that which we reasonable creatures use, saving onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the hound and hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatever they seize is for their master: but here it is otherwise: for the game is for him that seizeth it. The dolphins and bonitoes are the houndes, and the alcatraces the hawkes, and the flying fishes the game; whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of fynnes, which serve in stead of wings, like those of the batt or rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with small bones so curiously, as may well cause admiration in the beholders. They are like unto pilchards in colour, and making; saving that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They flie best with a side wind, but longer then their wings be wett they cannot sustaine the waight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I have seene them make, hath not beene above a quarter of a myle. They commonly goe in scoles, and serve for food for the greater fishes, or for the foules. The dolphins and bonitos doe continually hunt after them, and the alcatraces lye soaring in the ayre, to see when they spring, or take their flight; and ordinarily, he that escapeth the mouth of the dolphin or bonito, helping himselfe by his wings, falleth prisoner into the hands of the alcatrace, and helpeth to fill his gorge.

Alcatrace.

The alcatrace<sup>1</sup> is a sea-fowle, different to all that I have seene, either on the land or in the sea. His head like unto

<sup>1</sup> The man-of-war bird, or cormorant—*Pelecanidæ*. On the coast of Brazil, in latitude twenty-four, are the Alcatrasse islands.

...ed to sound, and followed them with an easie sayle, till Sect. 1  
 ...came in seaven and six fathome water, and some two  
 ...ges from the shore anchored, in hope by the sea, or by  
 ...land to find some refreshing. The sea we found to be  
 ...rren of fish, and my boates could not discover any land-  
 ...ing place, though a whole day they had rowed alongst the  
 ...ast, with great desire to set foote on shore, for that the  
 ...dge<sup>1</sup> was exceeding great and dangerous. Which expe-  
 ...ienced, wee set sayle, notwithstanding the contrarietie of  
 ...the winde, sometimes standing to the west-wards, some-  
 ...time to the east-wards, according to the shifting of the  
 ...wind.

SECTION IV.

**H**ERE is to be noted, that the error which we fell into in our Note.  
 accompts, was such as all men fall into where are currants  
 that set east or west, and are not knowne; for that there  
 is no certaine rule yet practised for triall of the longitude,  
 as there is of the latitude, though some curious and experi-  
 mented of our nation, with whom I have had conference  
 about this poynt, have shewed me two or three manner of  
 wayes how to know it.<sup>2</sup>

This, some years before, was the losse of the *Edward* The losse  
the *Edw*  
*Cotton*.  
*Cotton*, bound for the coast of Brasill, which taken with the  
 winde contrary neere the lyne, standing to the east-wards,  
 and making accompt to be fiftie or sixtie leagues off the  
 coast, with all her sayles standing, came suddenly a ground  
 upon the sholes of Madre-bomba, and so was cast away,

<sup>1</sup> Surf.

<sup>2</sup> It is still the custom to attribute all similar discordancies to the effect of current. This is a simple if not very philosophical mode of making the reckoning agree with observation. In this case, probably both the reckoning of the ship and the position of the land on the chart were faulty.

Sect. xv. though the most part of their company saved themselves upon raffles; but with the contagion of the countrie, and bad entreatie which the negros gave them, they died; so that there returned not to their country above three or foure of them.

But God Almightye dealt more mercifully with us, in shewing us our error in the day, and in time that wee might remedie it; to him be evermore glory for all.

This currant from the line equinoctiall, to twentie degrees northerly, hath great force, and setteth next of anything east, directly upon the shore; which we found by this meanes: standing to the westwards, the wind southerly, when we lay with our ships head west, and by south, we gayned in our heith<sup>1</sup> more then if wee had made our way good west south-west; for that, the currant tooke us under the bow: but lying west, or west and by north, we lost more in twelve houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the currant did set east next of any thing. Whether this currant runneth over one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes understand, but tract of time and observation will discover this, as it hath done of many others in sundry seas.

The currant that setteth betwixt New-found-land and Spaine, runneth also east and west, and long time deceived many, and made some to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was speedie or slowe; not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the currant was cause of the speeding or flowing of the way. And in sea cardes I have seene difference of above thirtie leagues betwixt the iland Tercera and the mayne. And others have recounted unto me, that comming from the Indias, and looking out for the ilands of Azores, they have had

<sup>1</sup> The term height is used for latitude; probably because the pole star was the principal object used to determine position.

ight of Spaine. And some have looked out for Spaine, Sect. xv.  
and have discovered the ilands.

The selfe same currant is in the Levant sea, but runneth  
trade betwixt the maynes, and changeable sometimes to  
the east-wards, sometimes to the west-wards.

In Brasill and the South sea, the currant likewise is  
changeable, but it runneth ever amongst the coast, accom-  
panying the winde, and it is an infallible rule, that twelve  
or twentie foure houres before the wind alters, the currant  
begins to change.

In the West Indies onely the currant runneth continually  
one way, and setteth amongst the coast from the equinoctiall  
lyne towards the north. No man hath yet found that  
these courrants keepe any certaine time, or run so many  
dayes, or moneths, one way as another, as doth the course  
of ebbing and flowing, well known in all seas ; only neere  
the shore they have small force ; partly, because of the  
reflux which the coast causeth, and partly for the ebbing  
and flowing, which more or lesse is generall in most seas.<sup>1</sup>

When the currant runneth north or south, it is easily  
discovered by augmenting or diminishing the height ; but  
how to know the setting of the currant from east to west in  
the mayne sea, is difficult ; and as yet I have not knowne  
any man, or read any authour, that hath prescribed any  
certaine meane or way to discover it. But experience  
teacheth that in the mayne sea, for the most part, it is  
variable ; and therefore the best and safest rule to prevent  
the danger (which the uncertainty and ignorance heereof  
may cause), is carefull and continuall watch by day and  
night, and upon the east and west course ever to bee before  
the shipp, and to use the meanes possible to know the  
errour, by the rules which newe authours may teach ; beat-

<sup>1</sup> The current in the West Indies, known as the Gulf stream, runs to  
the northward through the Gulf of Florida, and then trending to the  
eastward, expends its force in the Atlantic.



Sect. xx. fellowes discovering, approach to helpe him, and to make an end of him : it serveth them for their foode many dayes after.

Since the Spaniards have taught them the estimation of amber greece, they seeke curiously for it, sell it to them, and others, for such things as they best fancie, and most esteeme ; which are, as I have been enformed, all sortes of edge tooles, copper, glasses, glasse-beads, red caps, shirts, and pedlery ware. Upon this subject, divers Spaniards have discoursed unto mee, who have beene eye witnesses thereof, declaring them to be valorous, ventrous, and industrious : otherwise they durst not undertake an enterprise so difficult and full of danger.

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SECTION XX.

Best times  
to passe the  
lyne from  
the north-  
wards to the  
southward.

FROM the tropike of Cancer to three or foure degrees of the equinoctiall, the breze, which is the north-east winde, doth raigne in our ocean sea the most part of the yeare, except it be neere the shore, and then the wind is variable. In three or foure degrees of eyther side the line, the winde hangeth southerly, in the moneths of July, August, September, and October ; all the rest of the yeare, from the Cape Bona Esperança to the ilands of Azores, the breze raygneth continually ; and some yeares in the other moneths also, or calmes ; but he that purposeth to crosse the lyne from the north-wards to the south-wards, the best and surest passage is, in the moneths of January, February, and March. In the moneths of September, October, and November, is also good passage, but not so sure as in the former.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Horskburgh, the least favourable season for getting to the southward, is the period from June to September inclusive.

## SECTION XXI.

BETWIXT nineteene and twenty degrees to the south-wards Sect. XXI.  
of the lyne, the winde tooke us contrary, which together  
with the sicknes of my people made mee to seeke the shore;  
and about the end of October, we had sight of the land,  
which presently by our height and the making of it, discovered  
it selfe to be the port of Santos,<sup>1</sup> alias Nostra Senora  
de Victoria, and is easie to be knowne, for it hath a  
great high hill over the port, which (howsoever a man  
commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming  
neere the shore, presently is discovered a white tower or  
fort, which standeth upon the top of a hill over the harbour,  
and upon the seamost land. It is the first land a man must  
comasse before he enter the port. Comming within two  
leagues of the shore, we anchored; and the captaynes and  
masters of my other ships being come aboard, it was  
thought convenient (the weaknes of our men considered,  
for wee had not in our three ships twenty foure men  
sound), and the winde uncertaine when it might change, we  
thought with pollicie to procure that which wee could not  
by force; and so to offer traffique to the people of the  
shore; by that meanes to prove if wee could attayne some  
refreshing for our sicke company.

In execution whereof, I wrote a letter to the governour  
in Latine, and sent him with it a piece of crymson velvet, a  
bolt of fine holland, with divers other things, as a present;  
and with it, the captaine of my ship, who spake a little  
broken Spanish, giving the governour to understand that I  
was bound to the East Indies, to traffique in those parts,  
and that contrary windes had forced me upon that coast:  
if that hee were pleased to like of it, for the commodities

<sup>1</sup> Victoria, a Brazilian port in the Bay of Espirito Santo, in 20° 19' 2" S.

Sect. xxi. the country yeelded in abundance, I would exchange that which they wanted. With these instructions my captaine departed about nine of the clocke in the morning, carrying a flagge of truce in the head of the boate, and sixteene men well armed, and provided; guided by one of my company which two yeares before had beene captaine in that place, and so was a reasonable pilot.

Entering the port, within a quarter of a mile is a small village, and three leagues higher up is the chief towne; where they have two forts, one on eyther side of the harbour, and within them ride the ships which come thither to discharge, or load. In the small village is ever a garrison of one hundreth souldiers, whereof part assist there continually, and in the white tower upon the top of the hill, which commaundeth it.

Heere my captaine had good entertainment, and those of the shore received his message and letter, dispatching it presently to the governour, who was some three leagues off in another place: at least they beare us so in hand. In the time that they expected the post, my captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the souldiers a shore, who after the common custome of their profession (except when they be *besonios*<sup>1</sup>), sought to pleasure him, and finding that he craved but oranges, lemmons, and matters of smal moment for refreshing for his generall, they suffered the women and children to bring him what hee would, which hee gratified with double pistolets,<sup>2</sup> that I had given him for that purpose. So got hee us two or three hundreth oranges and lemmons, and some fewe hennes.

All that day and night, and the next day, till nine of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bisoño*—(Spanish) raw, undisciplined:—

*Pistol.* Under which king, Bezonian? speak or die.

*Henry IV, Part II.*

<sup>2</sup> The double pistole was a coin of about the value of thirty or thirty-five shillings.

clocke, wee waited the returne of our boate; which not appearing, bred in me some suspition; and for my satisfaction, I manned a light horseman which I had, and the *Fancie*, the best I could, shewing strength where was weakness and infirmity, and so set sayle towards the port; our gunner taking upon him to bee pilot, for that he had bene there some yeares before.

Sect. XXI.

Thus, with them we entred the harbour. My captaine having notice of our being within the barre, came aboard with the boat, which was no small joy to me; and more, to see him bring us store of oranges and lemmons, which was that we principally sought for, as the remedie of our diseased company. He made relation of that had past, and how they expected present answers from the governour. We anchored right against the village; and within two houres, by a flagge of truce, which they on the shore shewed us, we understood that the messenger was come: our boat went for the answer of the governour, who said, he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable and good; for that in consideration of the warre betwixt Spaine and England, he had expresse order from his king, not to suffer any English to trade within his jurisdiction, no, nor to land, or to take any refreshing upon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that wee should take this for a resolute answer: and further required us to depart the port within three dayes, which he said he gave us for our courteous manner of proceeding. If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that he would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answer wee resolved to depart; and before it came, with the first faire wind we determined to be packing: but the wind suffered us not all that night, nor the next day. In which time, I lived in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our own weakness, and what they might doe unto us, if that they had knowne so much. For any

*See p. 143.* lyne: and the twenty-one in the height of Farnambuca,<sup>1</sup>  
*Farnambuca.* but some fourscore leagues from the coast; the twentieth  
*Bay of Santos.* four in the height of Bayea de Todos Santos;<sup>2</sup> neere the  
end of October, betwixt seventeen and eighteen degrees,  
we were in sixteen fathomes, sounding of the great sholes,  
*Bay of Santos.* which lye alongst the coast, betwixt the Bay of Todos  
*Pura Senora de Vitoria.* Santos, and the port of Santos, alias Pura Senora de Vitoria;<sup>3</sup>  
which are very perilous.<sup>4</sup>

But the divine Providence hath ordayned great flockes  
of small birds, like snytes,<sup>5</sup> to live upon the rockes and  
broken lands of these sholes, and are met with ordinarily  
twentie leagues before a man come in danger of them.

It shall not be amisse here to recount the accidents  
which befell us during this contrary winde, and the  
curiosities to be observed in all this time. Day and night  
we had continually a fayre gale of winde, and a smooth  
sea, without any alteration; one day, the carpenters having  
*Dangers of* calked the decke of our shippe, which the sunne with his  
*fire.* extreame heate had opened, craved licence to heate a little  
pitch in the cook-roome; which I would not consent unto  
*By heating* by any meanes: for that my cook-rooms were under the  
*of pitch.* decke, knowing the danger; until the master undertooke  
that no danger should come thereof. But he recommended  
the charge to another, who had a better name then ex-  
perience. He suffered the pitch to rise, and to runne into  
the fire, which caused so furious a flame as amazed him,  
and forced all to flie his heate. One of my company, with  
a double payre of gloves, tooke off the pitch-pot, but the  
fire forced him to let slip his hold-fast, before he could set  
it on the hearth, and so overturned it, and as the pitch  
began to runne, so the fire to enlarge it selfe, that in a  
moment a great part of the shippe was on a light fire. I

<sup>1</sup> Pernambuco is north of Cape St. Agostinhos.

<sup>2</sup> Bahia is in 12° 58' 3" S.

<sup>3</sup> Vitoria is in 20° 19' 2" S.

<sup>4</sup> Shoals called the Abrolhos.

<sup>5</sup> Snyte for snipe.

For that my people should not be dismayed, I dispatched presently my light horsman, with onely foure men, and part of the refreshing, advising them that with the first calme or slent<sup>1</sup> of wind, they should come off. Sect. xxi.

The next night, the wind comming off the shore, wee set sayle, and with our boates and barkes sounded as we went.

It flowed upon the barre not above foure foote water, and once in foure and twentie houres, as in some parts of the West Indies; at full sea, there is not upon the barre above seventeen or eighteen foote water. The harbour runneth to the south-westwards. He that will come into it, is to open the harbour's mouth a good quarter of a league before he beare with it, and be bolder of the wester side; for of the easterland<sup>2</sup> lyeth a great ledge of rocks, for the most part, under water, which sometimes break not; but with small shipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the poynt.

Comming aboard of our shippes, there was great joy amongst my company; and many, with the sight of the oranges and lemmons, seemed to recover heart. This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wisdom of God, that hath hidden so great and unknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedie for this infirmitie; I presently caused them all to be reparted<sup>3</sup> amongst our sicke men, which were so many, that there came not above three or foure to a share: but God was pleased to send us a prosperous winde the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one dyed before we came to the ilands, where we pretended to refresh ourselves; and although our fresh water had

The vertue  
of oranges.

which are depicted subjects relating to the defeat of the "Spanish Armada". On the ten of spades is shewn a consultation about returning by the North Ocean.

<sup>1</sup> Such a wind as would enable them to lie aslant or obliquely near the desired course. It is commonly said that "a calm is half a fair wind"; it is more than this, as out of thirty-two points, twenty would be fair.

<sup>2</sup> Easterhand?

<sup>3</sup> *Répartir*—(French) to divide.

## Sect. XVII.

By hooping  
and scut-  
ling of  
caske.

the men to come to the pumpes, wherof shee had two which went with chaynes; and plying them, in a moment there was three or foure inches of water upon the decke, which with scoopes, swabbles,<sup>1</sup> and platters, they threw upon the fire, and so quenched it, and delivered both ship and men out of no small danger.

Great care is to be had also in cleaving of wood, in hooping or scutling<sup>2</sup> of caske, and in any businesse where violence is to be used with instruments of iron, steele, or stone: and especially in opening of powder, these are not to be used, but mallets of wood; for many mischances happen beyond all expectation.

I have been credibly enformed by divers persons, that comming out of the Indies, with scutling a butt of water the water hath taken fire, and flamed up, and put all in hazard. And a servant of mine, Thomas Grey, told me that in the shippe wherein he came out of the Indies, anno 1600, there happened the like; and that if with mantle they had not smothered the fire, they had bin all burne with a pipe of water, which in scutling took fire.

By nature  
of waters.

Master John Hazlelocke reported, that in the arsenal of Venice happened the like, he being present. For mine own part, I am of opinion, that some waters have this propertie, and especially such as have their passage by mines of brimstone, or other mineralls, which, as all men know, give extraordinary properties unto the waters by which they runne. Or it may be that the water being in wine caske, and kept close, may retayne an extraordinary propertie of the wine.<sup>3</sup> Yea, I have drunke fountaine and

<sup>1</sup> Swabs are a species of mop, made of a collection of rope yarns, used to dry the deck. *Swebban*—(Anglo-Saxon) to sweep.

<sup>2</sup> To scuttle—to make openings. *Escotilla* (Spanish), is applied to the openings in the deck, called by us hatch-ways. The term scuttle is also applied to the small openings made in the ship's side to let in light and air.

<sup>3</sup> If impure water be confined in and the effect described happen.



river waters many times, which have had a savour as that <sup>Sect.</sup> of brimstone.

Three leagues from Bayon, in France, I have proved of a fountaine that hath this savour, and is medicinable for many diseases. In the South sea, in a river some five leagues from Cape Saint Francisco, in one degree and a halfe to the northwardes of the lyne, in the bay of Atacames, is a river of fresh water, which hath the like savour. Of this I shall have occasion to speake in another place, treating of the divers properties of fountaines and rivers ; and therefore to our purpose.

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SECTION XVIII.

WE had no small cause to give God thankes and prayse for <sup>By an</sup> our deliverance ; and so, all our ships once come together, <sup>ing.</sup> wee magnified his glorious name for his mercie towards us, and tooke an occasion hereby to banish swearing out of our shippes, which amongst the common sort of mariners and sea-faring men is too ordinarily abused. So with a generall consent of all our companie, it was ordayned that in every ship there should be a palmer or ferula, which should be in the keeping of him who was taken with an oath ; and that he who had the palmer should give to every other that he tooke swearing, in the palme of the hand, a palmada with it, and the ferula. And whosoever at the time of evening, or morning prayer, was found to have the palmer, should have three blowes given him by the captaine or master ; and that he should be still bound to free himselfe, by taking another, or else to runne in daunger of continuing the penaltie : which executed, few dayes reformed the vice ; so that in three dayes together, was not one oath heard to



Sect. XXIV. ter decke,<sup>1</sup> they have a chayre or seat; out of which whilst they navigate, the pilot, or his adjutants<sup>2</sup> (which are the same officers which in our shippes we terme the master and his mates), never depart, day nor night, from the sight of the compasse; and have another before them, whereby they see what they doe, and are ever witnesses of the good or bad steeridge of all men that take the helme. This I have seene neglected in our best shippes, yet nothing more necessary to be reformed. For a good helme-man may be overcome with an imagination, and so mis-take one poynt for another;<sup>3</sup> or the compasse may erre, which by another is discerned. The inconveniences which hereof may ensue, all experimented sea-men may easily conceive, and by us take warning to avoyd the like.

## SECTION XXIV.

Cape  
Blanco.

THE next day about tenne of the clocke, wee were thwart of Cape Blanco,<sup>4</sup> which is low sandie land, and perilous; for foure leagues into the sea (thwart it), lye banks of sand, which have little water on them; on a sudden we

<sup>1</sup> The quarter deck may be defined as the space betwixt the mainmast and the after-hatchway; it seems also to have been called the half deck. Both terms refer to the fact that before the mainmast, the skids or beams were not planked. We still speak of being *on* the quarter deck, but *under* the half deck. The quarter deck is set apart for purposes of parade, and there the officer of the watch should always be sought.

<sup>2</sup> *Adjutare*—(Latin) to assist.

<sup>3</sup> On a still night, unless the attention of the helmsman be continually excited, it is quite possible that he get into a dreamy state, and, if at the same time, the officer of the watch is thinking of "those far away", the ship may be run for a time some points off her course. In the preceding section, Sir Richard well describes the difficulty of distinguishing betwixt a sandy shore and the water, on a calm bright night.

<sup>4</sup> Cape Saint Thom , in 22° 2' S.

lesser; the greatest that I have scene, might be ~~some four~~ four ~~the~~ xx foote long.

I hold it not without some ground, that the ~~ancient~~ philosophers write, that they be enamoured of a ~~man~~: for in meeting with shipping, they accompany ~~them~~ till they approach to colde climates; this I have noted divers times. For disembarking out of the West Indies, anno 1583, within three or foure dayes after, we met a scole<sup>1</sup> of them, which left us not till we came to the ilands of Azores, nere a thousand leagues. At other times I have noted the like.

But some may say, that in the sea are many scoles of this kinde of fish, and how can a man know if they were the same?

Who may be thus satisfied, that every day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neere the ship, we should see foure, five, and more, which had, as it were, our eare-marke; one hurt upon the backe, another neere the tayle, another about the fynnes; which is a sufficient proove that they were the same: for if those which had received so bad entertainment of us would not forsake us, much less those which we had not hurt. Yet that which makes them most in love with ships and men, are the scrappes and refreshing they gather from them.

The bonito, or Spanish makerell, is altogether like unto a makerell, but that it is somewhat more growne; he is reasonable foode, but dryer than a makerell. Of them there are two sorts: the one is this which I have described; the other, so great as hardly one man can lift him. At such times as wee have taken of these, one sufficed for a meale for all my company. These, from the synne of the tayle forwards, have upon the chyne seven small yellow billow<sup>1</sup> close one to another.

<sup>1</sup> A shoal or scull of fish; that is, separated from the main ~~be~~. This is Horne Tooke's derivation. We think the term is more ~~common~~ applied to the main body itself.

Sect. XXIV. the hearbe purslane,<sup>1</sup> which boyled and made into sallets,  
 Purslane. with oyle and vinegar, refreshed the sicke stomaches, and  
 gave appetite.

With the ayre of the shore, and good cherishing, many  
 recovered speedily. Some died away quickly, and others  
 continued at a stand. We found here some store of fruits;  
 Cherries. a kind of cherry that groweth upon a tree like a plum-tree,  
 red of colour, with a stone in it, but different in making to  
 ours, for it is not altogether round, and dented about: they  
 have a pleasing taste.

Palmitos. In one of the ilands, we found palmito trees, great and  
 high, and in the toppe a certain fruit like cocos, but no  
 bigger then a wall-nut. We found also a fruit growing  
 upon trees in codd, like beanes, both in the codd and the  
 fruit. Some of my company proved of them,<sup>2</sup> and they  
 Purgatives. caused vomits and purging, as any medicine taken out of  
 the apothecaries shop, according to the quantitie received.  
 They have hudds, as our beanes, which shaled off; the ker-  
 nell parteth itselke in two, and in the middle is a thin  
 skinne, like that of an onion, said to be hurtfull, and to  
 cause exceeding vomits, and therefore to be cast away.

Monardus writing of the nature and propertie of this  
 fruit, as of others of the Indies, for that it is found in other  
 parts, also calleth them *kavas purgativas*, and sayth, that  
 they are to be prepared by peeling them first, and then  
 taking away the skinne in the middle, and after beaten into  
 powder, to take the quantitie of five or six, either with wine  
 or sugar. Thus they are good against fevers, and to purge  
 grosse humors; against the colicke, and payne of the  
 joynts; in taking them a man may not sleepe, but is to use  
 the dyet usuall, as in a day of purging.

The use of  
*kavas pur-*  
*gativas.*

<sup>1</sup> *Portulaca sativa*—a fleshy-leaved plant, much esteemed in hot coun-  
 tries for its cooling properties.

<sup>2</sup> Great caution should be used in tasting unknown fruits; perhaps  
 this tree was the *croton tiglium*, every part of which possesses powerful  
 drastic properties.

One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an artechoque, but lesse; on the outside of colour redd, within white, and compassed about with prickles; our people called them pricke-pears;<sup>1</sup> no conserve is better. They grow upon the leaves of a certaine roote, that is like unto that which we call *semper viva* and many are wont to hang them up in their houses; but their leaves are longer and narrower, and full of prickles on either side. The fruit groweth upon the side of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I have eaten in the Indies. In ripening, presently the birds or vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know what fruit is wholesome and good in the Indies, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the beastes or fowles, a man may boldly eate of them.

Sect. xxiv.

Arte-  
choques or  
prick-  
peares.A good note  
to take or  
refuse un-  
knowne  
fruites.

The water of these ilands is not good: the one, for being a standing water, and full of venemous wormes and serpents, which is neare a butt-shott from the sea shore; where we found a great tree fallen, and in the roote of it the names of sundry Portingalls, Frenchmen, and others, and amongst them, Abraham Cockes; with the time of their being in this island.

The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which have a smell as that of garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them. Here two of our men dyed with swelling of their bellies. The accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspitious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the sea; and therefore we made a well of a pipe, and placeth it under the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our caske: but we could not fill above two tunnes in a night and day.

Contagious  
water.

<sup>1</sup> A species of cactus; the fruit is eaten in Sicily and elsewhere. We cannot join Sir Richard in its praise: perhaps as he had been long at sea, he found it grateful. The cochineal insect feeds on one species of this plant.

## SECTION XXV.

Sect. xxv. So after our people began to gather their strength, wee manned our boates, and went over to the mayne, where presently we found a great ryver of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie marish countrie; which in the winter<sup>1</sup> seemeth to be continually over-flowne with this river, and others, which fall from the mountaynous country adjacent.

We rowed some leagues up the ryver, and found that the further up we went, the deeper was the river, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies, for the labour of our handes.

At our returne, wee loaded our boate with water, and afterwarde from hence wee made our store.

## SECTION XXVI.

Wast and  
losse of  
men.

THE sicknesse having wasted more than the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victualls of the *Hawke*, and to burne her; which wee put in execution. And being occupied in this worke, we saw a shippe turning to windwards, to succour her selfe of the ilands;<sup>2</sup> but having discreded us, put off to sea-wards.

Two dayes after, the wind changing, we saw her againe running alongst the coast, and the *Daintie* not being in case to goe after her, for many reasons, we manned the *F'ancie*, and sent her after her; who about the setting of the sunne fetched her up, and spake with her; when finding her to be a great fly-boat, of at least three or foure hundreth tunnes, with eighteen peeeces of artillery, would

<sup>1</sup> This river is now called the Maccahé; probably it floods in the rainy season.

<sup>2</sup> By working up under their lee.

have returned, but the wind freshing in, put her to leeward; and standing in to succour her selfe of the land, had sight of another small barke, which after a short chase shee tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that she had bin upon the great shoales of Abreoios,<sup>1</sup> in eighteen degrees, and there throwne all they had by the board, to save their lives.

This and the other chase were the cause that the *Fancie* could not beat it up in many dayes: but before we had put all in a readinesse, the wind changing, shee came unto us, and made relation of that which had past; and how they had given the small barke to the Portingalls, and brought with them onely her pilot, and a marchant called Pedro de Escalante of Potosi.

## SECTION XXVII.

In this coast, the Portingalls, by industrie of the Indians, have wrought many feats. At Cape Frio they tooke a great French ship in the night, the most of her company being on the shore, with cannoas, which they have in this coast so great, that they carry seventie and eightie men in one of them. And in Isla Grand,<sup>2</sup> I saw one that was above threescore foote long, of one tree, as are all that I have seen in Brasill, with provisions in them for twentie or thirtie days. At the iland of San Sebastian,<sup>3</sup> neere Saint Vincent, the Indians killed about eightie of Master Can-

Industry of  
the Indians.  
They sur-  
prise the  
French.

San Sebas-  
tian.

<sup>1</sup> These shoals, already alluded to at page 144, are now called the Abrolhos: there is a channel betwixt the islets and the main: the soundings extend to the eastward eighty or ninety miles.

<sup>2</sup> Ilha Grande, on the coast, to the west of Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>3</sup> On the coast of Brazil, between Rio and Santos.

Sect. XXVII. dish his men, and tooke his boate, which was the overthrow  
of his voyage.<sup>1</sup>

Kill the  
English,

and dis-  
cover us.

There commeth not any ship upon this coast, whereof these cannoas give not notice presently to every place. And wee were certified in Isla Grand, that they had sent an Indian from the river of Ienero,<sup>2</sup> through all the mountaines and marishes, to take a view of us, and accordingly made a relation of our shippes, boates, and the number of men which we might have. But to prevent the like danger that might come upon us being carelesse and negligent, I determined one night, in the darkest and quietest of it, to see what watch our company kept on the shore; manned our light horsman, and boat, armed them with bowes and targetts, and got a shore some good distance from the places where were our bootes, and sought to come upon them undiscovered: we used all our best endeavours to take them at unawares, yet comming within fortie paces, we were discovered: the whole and the sicke came forth to oppose themselves against us. Which we seeing, gave them the hubbub, after the manner of the Indians, and assaulted them, and they us; but being a close darke night, they could not discerne us presently upon the hubbub.<sup>3</sup>

From our shippe the gunner shott a peece of ordinance over our heads, according to the order given him, and thereof we tooke occasion to retyre unto our boates, and within a little space came to the bootes and landing places,

<sup>1</sup> This was the second voyage of Thomas Cavendish, after he had been round the world. Cavendish was in the *Leicester*, and John Davis, the great Arctic Navigator, commanded the *Desire*. They sailed from Plymouth in August 1591. They attacked the towns of San Vicente and Santos and then sailed towards the Straits of Magellan. The voyage was a failure, and Cavendish died on the passage home.

<sup>2</sup> Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>3</sup> Whoop! whoop! Cotgrave gives us the meaning of *hootings* and *whoopings*: noises wherewith swine are scared, or infamous old women disgraced.

as though wee came from our shippes to ayd them. They Sect. xxvii.  
 began to recount unto us, how that at the wester poynt of The events  
 of a good  
 watch.  
 the iland, out of certaine cannoas, had landed a multitude  
 of Indians, which with a great out-cry came upon them,  
 and assaulted them fiercely; but finding better resistance  
 than they looked for, and seeing themselves discovered by  
 the shippes, tooke themselves to their heeles and returned  
 to their cannoas, in which they imbarked themselves, and  
 departed. One affirmed, he saw the cannoas; another,  
 their long hayre; a third, their bowes; a fourth, that it  
 could not be, but that some of them had their payments.  
 And it was worth the sight, to behold those which had not  
 moved out of their beds in many moneths, unlesse by the  
 helpe of others, gotten some a bow-shoot off into the woods,  
 others into the toppes of trees, and those which had any  
 strength, joyned together to fight for their lives. In fine,  
 the booths and tents were left desolate.<sup>1</sup>

To colour our businesse the better, after we had spent  
 some houres in seeking out and joyning the companie  
 together, in comforting, animating, and commending them,  
 I left them an extraordinary guard for that night, and so  
 departed to our shippes, with such an opinion of the assault  
 given by the Indians, that many so possessed, through all  
 the voyage, would not be perswaded to the contrary.  
 Which impression wrought such effect in most of my com-  
 panie, that in all places where the Indians might annoy us,  
 they were ever after most carefull and vigilant, as was  
 convenient.

In these ilands it heigheth and falleth some five or six

<sup>1</sup> A sudden sensation, be it from fear or otherwise, has a surprising  
 effect upon persons sick or bed-ridden. Lediard relates that in a sharp  
 engagement with a combined squadron of French and Dutch ships, off  
 St. Christopher, in 1667, Sir John Harman, the English commander,  
 who had been lame and in great pain from the gout, upon discovering  
 the enemy's fleet, got up, walked about, and gave orders as well as  
 ever, till the fight was over, and then became as lame as before.



Sect. XXVII. foot water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this coast, and in many parts of the West Indies; as also in the coast of Perew and Chely, saving where are great bayes or indraughts, and there the tydes keep their ordinary course of twice in foure and twentie houres.

Palmito  
iland.

In the lesser of these ilands, is a cove for a small ship to ryde in, land-lockt, and shee may moore her sele to the trees of either side. This we called Palmito iland, for the aboundance it hath of the greater sort of palmito trees; the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the ilands with his ship, but the better course is out at one end.

In these ilands are many scorpions, snakes, and adders, with other venomous vermine. They have parrots, and a certaine kinde of fowle like unto pheasants, somewhat bigger, and seeme to be of their nature. Here we spent above a moneth in curing of our sicke men, supplying our wants of wood and water, and in other necessary workes. And the tenth of December, all things put in order, we set sayle for Cape Frio, having onely six men sicke, with purpose there to set ashore our two prisoners before named: and anchoring under the Cape, we sent our boat a shore, but they could not finde any convenient place to land them in, and so returned.<sup>1</sup> The wind being southerly, and not good to goe on our voyage, we succoured our selves within Isla Grand, which lyeth some dozen or fourteene leagues from the cape, betwixt the west, and by south and west south-west; the rather to set our prisoners a shore.

Ienero.

In the mid-way betwixt the Cape and this iland, lyeth the river Ienero, a very good harbour, fortified with a gar-

<sup>1</sup> Cape Frio has since become remarkable as the point on which H.M.S. *Thetis* was wrecked in December 1830, the night after she had left Rio Janciro. A landing was effected, and nearly the whole crew saved. A snug cove north of the cape, with a boat entrance to the southward, was much used during the operations afterwards carried on to attempt to recover the treasure embarked in her.

rison, and a place well peopled. The Isla Grand is some Sect. XXVII.  
 eight or ten leagues long, and causeth a goodly harbour  
 for shipping. It is full of great sandie bayes, and in the  
 most of them is store of good water; within this iland are  
 many other smaller ilands, which cause divers sounds and  
 creekes; and amongst these little ilands, one, for the plea- Little iland.  
 sant scituation and fertilitie thereof, called Placentia. This  
 is peopled, all the rest desert: on this island our prisoners  
 desired to be put a shore, and promised to send us some  
 refreshing. Whereto we condescended, and sent them  
 ashore, with two boates well man'd and armed, who found  
 few inhabitants in the iland; for our people saw not above  
 foure or five houses, notwithstanding our boats returned  
 loaden with plantynes, pinias,<sup>1</sup> potatoes, sugar-canes, and  
 some hennes. Amongst which they brought a kind of  
 little plantyne, greene, and round, which were the best of  
 any that I have seene.

With our people came a Portingall, who said, that the  
 island was his; he seemed to be a Mistecho,<sup>2</sup> who are those  
 that are of a Spanish and an Indian brood, poorely ap-  
 paralled and miserable; we feasted him, and gave him  
 some trifles, and he, according to his abilitie, answered our  
 courtesie with such as he had.

The wind continuing contrary, we emptied all the water  
 wee could come by, which we had filled in Saint James his  
 iland, and filled our caske with the water of this Isla Isla Grand.  
 Grand. It is a wilderness, covered with trees and shrubs  
 so thicke, as it hath no passage through, except a man make  
 it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and  
 cryes of wild beastes in these woods day and night, which  
 we could not come at to see by any meanes; some like  
 lyons, others like beares, others like hoggs, and of such  
 and so many diversities, as was admirable.

Heere our nets profited us much; for in the sandy bayes

<sup>1</sup> Pine apples, *Ananassa sativa*.

<sup>2</sup> Mestizo.

Sect. XXVII.

Shells of  
mother of  
pearle.

they tooke us store of fish. Upon the shore, a full seamark, we found in many places certaine shels, like those of mother of pearles, which are brought out of the East Indies, to make standing cups, called *caracoles*; of so great curiositie as might move all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them: and were it not for the brittlenes of them, by reason of their exceeding thinnes, doubtles they were to bee esteemed farre above the others; for, more excellent workemanship I have not seene in shels.<sup>1</sup>

Price of  
negroes.

The eighteenth of December, we set sayle, the wind at north-east, and directed our course for the Straites of Magalienes. The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the sunne, we descryed a Portingall ship, and gave her chase, and comming within hayling of her, shee rendred her selfe without any resistance; shee was of an hundred tuns, bound for Angola, to load negroes, to be carried and sold in the rivor of Plate. It is a trade of great profit, and much used, for that the negroes are carried from the head of the river of Plate, to Potosi, to labour in the mynes. It is a bad negro, who is not worth there five or six hundreth peeces, every peece of tenne ryals, which they receive in ryals of plate,<sup>2</sup> for there is no other marchandize in those partes. Some have told me, that of late they have found out the trade and benefit of cochanilia, but the river suffereth not vessels of burthen; for if they drawe above eight or seaven foote water, they cannot goe further then the mouth of the river, and the first habitation is above a hundred and twenty leagues up, whereunto many barks trade yearly, and carry all kinde of marchandize serving for Potosi and Paraquay; the money which is thence returned, is distributed in all the coast of Brasill.

Cassavi  
meale.

The loading of this ship was meale of cassavi, which the

<sup>1</sup> Probably a species of nautilus.

<sup>2</sup> The ryal of silver, of which ten went to a "piece", is in value about fivence of our money.

## SECTION XXI.

**BETWIXT** nineteene and twenty degrees to the south-wards Sect. x  
of the lyne, the winde tooke us contrary, which together  
with the sicknes of my people made mee to seeke the shore;  
and about the end of October, we had sight of the land,  
which presently by our height and the making of it, discovered  
it selfe to be the port of Santos,<sup>1</sup> alias Nostra Señora  
de Victoria, and is easie to be knowne, for it hath a  
great high hill over the port, which (howsoever a man  
commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming  
neere the shore, presently is discovered a white tower or  
fort, which standeth upon the top of a hill over the harbour,  
and upon the seamost land. It is the first land a man must  
compasse before he enter the port. Comming within two  
leagues of the shore, we anchored; and the captaynes and  
masters of my other ships being come aboard, it was  
thought convenient (the weaknes of our men considered,  
for wee had not in our three ships twenty foure men  
sound), and the winde uncertaine when it might change, we  
thought with pollicie to procure that which wee could not  
by force; and so to offer traffique to the people of the  
shore; by that meanes to prove if wee could attayne some  
refreshing for our sicke company.

In execution whereof, I wrote a letter to the governour  
in Latine, and sent him with it a piece of crymson velvet, a  
bolt of fine holland, with divers other things, as a present;  
and with it, the captaine of my ship, who spake a little  
broken Spanish, giving the governour to understand that I  
was bound to the East Indies, to traffique in those parts,  
and that contrary windes had forced me upon that coast:  
if that hee were pleased to like of it, for the commodities

<sup>1</sup> Victoria, a Brazilian port in the Bay of Espirito Santo, in 20° 19' 2" S.

Sect. XXVII. it into bread, and hold it for the best, saying that it giveth it a better tast; but I am not of that opinion. In other parts they mingle it with a fruite called agnanapes, which are round, and being ripe are grey, and as big as an hazell nut, and grow in a cod like pease, but that it is all curiously wrought: first they parch them upon a stone, and after beate them into powder, and then mingle them with the fine flower of cassavi, and bake them into bread, these are their spice-cakes, which they call *xauxaw*.

**Agnanapes.** The agnanapes are pleasant, give the bread a yellowish coulour, and an aromaticall savour in taste.<sup>1</sup> The finer of this bread, being well baked, keepeth long time, three or foure yeares. In Brazill, since the Portingalls taught the Indians the use of sugar, they eate this meale mingled with remels<sup>2</sup> of sugar, or molasses; and in this manner the Portingalls themselves feed of it.

But we found a better manner of dressing this farina, in making pancakes, and frying them with butter or oyle, and sometimes with *manteca de puerco*; when strewing a little sugar upon them, it was meaté that our company desired above any that was in the shippe.

**And for  
beverage.**

The Indians also accustome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three severall manners.

First in chewing it in their mouths, and after mingling it with water after a loathsome manner, yet the commonest drinke that they have; and that held best which is chewed by an old woman.

The second manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a small quantitie of it with water, which giveth a reasonable good taste.

The third, and best, is baking it, as aforesaid, and when

<sup>1</sup> Probably cacao (*theobroma cacao*), well known from the beverage of the same name, and from which chocolate is manufactured.

<sup>2</sup> In the Devonshire dialect, *remlet* means a remnant.

clocke, wee waited the retorne of our boate; which not appearing, bred in me some suspition; and for my satisfaction, I manned a light horseman which I had, and the *Fancie*, the best I could, shewing strength where was weaknesse and infirmity, and so set sayle towards the port; our gunner taking upon him to bee pilot, for that he had beene there some yeares before.

Sect. XXI.

Thus, with them we entred the harbour. My captaine having notice of our being within the barre, came aboard with the boat, which was no small joy to me; and more, to see him bring us store of oranges and lemmons, which was that we principally sought for, as the remedie of our diseased company. He made relation of that had past, and how they expected present answere from the governour. We anchored right against the village; and within two houres, by a flagge of truce, which they on the shore shewed us, we understood that the messenger was come: our boat went for the answere of the governour, who said, he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable and good; for that in consideration of the warre betwixt Spaine and England, he had expresse order from his king, not to suffer any English to trade within his jurisdiction, no, nor to land, or to take any refreshing upon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that wee should take this for a resolute answere: and further required us to depart the port within three dayes, which he said he gave us for our courteous manner of proceeding. If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that he would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answere wee resolved to depart; and before it came, with the first faire wind we determined to be packing: but the wind suffered us not all that night, nor the next day. In which time, I lived in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our own weaknesse, and what they might doe unto us, if that they had knowne so much. For any

**xxx** man that putteth himself into the enemies port, had need of Argus eyes, and the wind in a bagge,<sup>1</sup> especially where the enemy is strong, and the tydes of any force. For with either ebbe or flood, those who are on the shore may thrust upon him inventions of fire: and with swimming or other devises, may cut his cables. A common practise in all hot countries. The like may be effected with raffles, cannoas, boates, or pynaces, to annoy and assault him: and if this had beene practised against us, or taken effect, our shippes must of force have yeelded themselves; for they had no other people in them but sicke men; but many times opinion and feare preserveth the shippes, and not the people in them.

Wherefore it is the part of a provident governour, to consider well the daungers that may befall him, before he put himselfe into such places; so shall he ever be provided for prevention.

In Saint John de Vlwa, in the New Spaine, when the Spanyards dishonoured their nation with that foule act of perjury, and breach of faith, given to my father, Sir John Hawkins (notorious to the whole world),<sup>2</sup> the Spanyards fired two great shippes, with intention to burne my fathers *Admirall*, which he prevented by towing them with his boates another way.

The great armado of Spaine, sent to conquer England, anno 1588, was with that selfe same industry overthrowne; for the setting on fire of six or seaven shippes (whereof two were mine), and letting them drive with the flood, forced them to cut their cables, and to put to sea, to seeke a new way to Spaine.<sup>3</sup> In which the greatest part of their best shippes and men were lost and perished.

<sup>1</sup> So that he may get away when it pleases him.

<sup>2</sup> page 77.

<sup>3</sup> In the attempt the fleet made to return northabout. In the museum is preserved a curious old pack of playing cards, on

For that my people should not be dismayed, I dispatched presently my light horsman, with onely foure men, and part of the refreshing, advising them that with the first calme or slent<sup>1</sup> of wind, they should come off. Sect. XXI.

The next night, the wind comming off the shore, wee set sayle, and with our boates and barkes sounded as we went.

It flowed upon the barre not above foure foote water, and once in foure and twentie houres, as in some parts of the West Indies; at full sea, there is not upon the barre above seventeen or eighteen foote water. The harbour runneth to the south-westwards. He that will come into it, is to open the harbour's mouth a good quarter of a league before he beare with it, and be bolder of the wester side; for of the easterland<sup>2</sup> lyeth a great ledge of rocks, for the most part, under water, which sometimes break not; but with small shipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the poynt.

Comming aboard of our shippes, there was great joy amongst my company; and many, with the sight of the oranges and lemmons, seemed to recover heart. This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wisdom of God, that hath hidden so great and unknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedie for this infirmitie; I presently caused them all to be reparted<sup>3</sup> amongst our sicke men, which were so many, that there came not above three or foure to a share: but God was pleased to send us a prosperous winde the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one dyed before we came to the ilands, where we pretended to refresh ourselves; and although our fresh water had

which are depicted subjects relating to the defeat of the "Spanish Armada". On the ten of spades is shewn a consultation about returning by the North Ocean.

<sup>1</sup> Such a wind as would enable them to lie aslant or obliquely near the desired course. It is commonly said that "a calm is half a fair wind"; it is more than this, as out of thirty-two points, twenty would be fair.

<sup>2</sup> Easterhand?

<sup>3</sup> *Répartir*—(French) to divide.



**Sect. XXII.** layled us many dayes before we saw the shore, by reason of our long navigation, without touching any land, and the excessive drinking of the sicke and diseased, which could not be excused, yet with an invention I had in my shippe, I easily drew out of the water of the sea, sufficient quantitie of fresh water to sustaine my people with little expence of fewell; for with foure billets I stilled a hogsh-head of water, and therewith dressed the meat for the sicke and whole. The water so distilled, we found to be wholesome and nourishing.

## SECTION XXIII.

THE coast from Santos to Cape Frio, lyeth west and by south, southerly. So we directed our course west south-west. The night comming on, and directions given to our other shippes, we sett the watch, having a fayre fresh gale of wind and large. My selfe with the master of our ship, having watched the night past, thought now to give nature that which shee had beene deprived of, and so recommended the care of steeridge to one of his mates: who with the like travell past being drowsie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the helme, had not that watchfull care which was required: he at the helme steered west, and west and by south, and brought us in a little time close upon the shore: doubtlesse he had cast us all away, had not God extraordinarily delivered us: for the master being in his dead sleepe, was suddenly awaked, and with such a fright that he could not be in quiet: whereupon waking his youth, which ordinarily slept in his cabin by him, asked

Unskillful-  
nesse of the  
masters  
mate.

Providence  
of God, and  
the name of  
the

The coast lies nearer south and by west, than west and by south, so  
I would certainly have run on shore without any blame attaching to  
helmsman.

him how the watch went on ; who answered, that it could not be above an houre since he layd himselfe to rest. He replied, that his heart was so unquiet that he could not by any meanes sleepe, and so taking his gowne, came forth upon the deck, and presently discovered the land hard by us. And for that it was sandie and low, those who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazeled with the reflection of the starres, being a fayre night, and so were hindered from the true discovery thereof. But he comming out of the darke, had his sight more forcible, to discerne the difference of the sea, and the shore. So that forthwith he commaunded him at the helme, to put it close a starboard, and tacking our ship, wee edged off ; and sounding, found scant three fathome water, whereby we saw evidently the miraculous mercie of our God ; that if he had not watched over us, as hee doth continually over his, doubtlesse we had perished without remedie. To whom be all glory, and prayse everlastingly, world without end.

Immediatly we shot off a peece, to give warning to our other shippes ; who having kept their direct course, and far to wind-wards and sea-wards, because we carried no light, for that we were within sight of the shore, could not heare the report ; and the next morning were out of sight.

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SECTION XXIII.

IN this poynt of steeridge, the Spaniards and Portingalls doe exceede all that I haue seene, I mean for their care, which is chieftest in navigation. And I wish in this, and in all their workes of discipline, wee should follow their examples ; as also those of any other nation.

In every ship of moment, upon the halfe decke, or quar-

Sect. XXI

Care of  
steeridgeexquisite  
the Span-  
iards and  
Portingals

*Next xxiv.* *ter decke*,<sup>1</sup> they have a chayre or seat; out of which whilst they navigate, the pilot, or his adjutants<sup>2</sup> (which are the same officers which in our shippes we terme the master and his mates), never depart, day nor night, from the sight of the compasse; and have another before them, whereby they see what they doe, and are ever witnesses of the good or bad steeridge of all men that take the helme. This I have seene neglected in our best shippes, yet nothing more necessary to be reformed. For a good helme-man may overcome with an imagination, and so mis-take one poynt for another;<sup>3</sup> or the compasse may erre, which by another is discerned. The inconveniences which hereof may ensue, all experimented sea-men may easily conceive, and by us take warning to avoyd the like.

## SECTION XXV

*are* *lance.* THE next day about tenne of the clocke, wee were thwart of Cape Blanco,<sup>4</sup> which is low sandie land and perilous; for foure leagues into the sea thwart of the banks of sand, which have little water on them: on a sudden we

<sup>1</sup> The quarter deck may be defined as the space between the mainmast and the after-hatchway: it seems also to have been called the half deck. Both terms refer to the fact that before the mainmast, the skids or beams were not planked. We still speak of being *on* the quarter deck, but *under* the half deck. The quarter deck is set apart for purposes of parade, and there the officer of the watch should always be sought.

<sup>2</sup> *Adjutants*—(Latin *to assist*).

<sup>3</sup> On a still night, unless the attention of the helmsman be continued, it is quite possible that he gets into a drowsy state, and, at the same time, the effect of the wind is increasing, and the ship may be run into the sand banks of her course, as happened on the occasion. Sir Edmund Halley points out the difficulty of steering a ship at night, and the value of a main light between a steady star and the vessel, in *the* *Journal*.

<sup>4</sup> Cape San Blas, in lat. 3 S.

found our selves amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water; but with our boat and shalope we went sounding, and so got cleare of them. Sect. xxv.

The next day following, we discovered the ilands where wee purposed to refresh ourselves. They are two, and some call them Saint James, his ilands, and others, Saint Annes.<sup>1</sup> They lie in two and twenty degrees and a halfe to the south-wards of the lyne; and towards the evening (being the fifth of November) we anchored betwixt them and the mayne, in six fathome water, where wee found our other shippes. Saint James  
Ilands, also  
Saint  
Annes.

All which being well moored, we presently began to set up tents and booths for our sicke men, to carry them a shore, and to use our best diligence to cure them. For which intent our three surgeons, with their servants and adherents, had two boates to wayte continually upon them, to fetch whatsoever was needfull from the shippes, to procure refreshing, and to fish, either with nets, or hookes and lynes. Of these implements wee had in aboundance, and it yeelded us some refreshing. For the first dayes, the most of those which had health, occupied themselves in romeging our ship; in bringing ashore of emptie casks; in filling of them, and in felling and in cutting of wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Neere these ilands, are two great rockes, or small ilands adjoyning. In them we found great store of young gannetts in their nests, which we reserved for the sicke, and being boyled with pickled porke well watered,<sup>2</sup> and mingled with oatmeale, made reasonable pottage, and was good refreshing and sustenance for them. This provision fayled us not, till our departure from them. Gannets.

Upon one of these rocks also, we found great store of

<sup>1</sup> Now called Santa Anna, between Cape Saint Thomé and Cape Frio.

<sup>2</sup> Well soaked in water to remove the salt.

## SECTION XXV.

Sect. xxv. So after our people began to gather their strength, wee manned our boates, and went over to the mayne, where presently we found a great ryver of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie marish countrie; which in the winter seemeth to be continually over-flowne with this river, and others, which fall from the mountaynous country adjacent.

We rowed some leagues up the ryver, and found that the further up we went, the deeper was the river, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies, for the labour of our handes.

At our returne, wee loaded our boate with water, and afterwarde from hence wee made our store.

## SECTION XXVI.

Wast and  
losse of  
men.

THE sicknesse having wasted more than the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victualls of the *Hawke*, and to burne her; which wee put in execution. And being occupied in this worke, we saw a shippe turning to windwards, to succour her selfe of the ilands;<sup>2</sup> but having discreded us, put off to sea-wards.

Two dayes after, the wind changing, we saw her againe running alongst the coast, and the *Daintie* not being in case to goe after her, for many reasons, we manned the *Fancie*, and sent her after her; who about the setting of the sunne fetched her up, and spake with her; when finding her to be a great fly-boat, of at least three or foure hundreth tunnes, with eighteen peeces of artillery, would

<sup>1</sup> This river is now called the Maccahé; probably it floods in the rainy season.

<sup>2</sup> By working up under their lee.

One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an artechoque, but lesse; on the outside of colour redd, within white, and compassed about with prickles; our people called them pricke-pears;<sup>1</sup> no conserve is better. They grow upon the leaves of a certaine roote, that is like unto that which we call *semper viva* and many are wont to hang them up in their houses; but their leaves are longer and narrower, and full of prickles on either side. The fruit groweth upon the side of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I have eaten in the Indies. In ripening, presently the birds or vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know what fruit is wholesome and good in the Indies, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the beastes or fowles, a man may boldly eate of them.

Sect. xxiv.

Arte-  
choques or  
prick-  
peares.A good note  
to take or  
refuse un-  
knowne  
fruits.

The water of these ilands is not good: the one, for being a standing water, and full of venemous wormes and serpents, which is neare a butt-shott from the sea shore; where we found a great tree fallen, and in the roote of it the names of sundry Portingalls, Frenchmen, and others, and amongst them, Abraham Cockes; with the time of their being in this island.

The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which have a smell as that of garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them. Here two of our men dyed with swelling of their bellies. The accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspitious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the sea; and therefore we made a well of a pipe, and placeth it under the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our caske: but we could not fill above two tunnes in a night and day.

Contagious  
water.

<sup>1</sup> A species of cactus; the fruit is eaten in Sicily and elsewhere. We cannot join Sir Richard in its praise: perhaps as he had been long at sea, he found it grateful. The cochineal insect feeds on one species of this plant.

Sect. xxx.

on his necke and wings ; but such were the blowes he gave them with his pinnions, as both left their hand-fast, being beaten blacke and blewe ; we cast a snare about his necke, and so tryced him into the ship.

Prove good refreshment.

By the same manner of fishing, we caught so many of them, as refreshed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little flesh and tender ; in taste answerable to the food whereon they feed.<sup>1</sup>

They were of two colours, some white, some grey ; they had three joynts in each wing ; and from the poynt of one wing to the poynt of the other, both stretched out, was about two fathomes.

Care of the Pentagones.

The wind continued good with us, till we came to forty-nine degrees and thirty minutes, where it tooke us westerly, being, as we made our accompt, some fiftie degrees from the shore. Betwixt forty-nine and forty-eight degrees, is Port Saint Julian, a good harbour, and in which a man may grave his ship, though shee draw fiftene or sixteene foote water : but care is to be had of the people called Pentagones.<sup>2</sup> They are treacherous, and of great stature, so the most give them the name of gyants.<sup>3</sup>

The second of February, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we discryed land, which bare south-west of us, which wee looked not for so timely ; and comming neerer and neerer unto it, by the lying, wee could not conjecture what land it should be ; for we were next of anything in forty-eight degrees, and no platt nor sca-card which we had made mention of any land which lay in that manner, neere about that height ; in fine, wee brought our lar-borde tacke aboard, and stood to the north-east-wardes all that day and

<sup>1</sup> This fowl was doubtless the albatross (*Diomedea*), which seems to be a corruption of the Portuguese word *alcatraz*. The practice of fishing for them still continues, though more for recreation than for refreshment.

<sup>2</sup> Patagonians.

<sup>3</sup> Magalhaens reported them as giants ; and Fitzroy states them to average nearly six feet.

as though wee came from our shippes to ayd them. They Sect. xxvii.  
 began to recount unto us, how that at the wester poynt of The events  
 the iland, out of certaine cannoas, had landed a multitude of a good  
 of Indians, which with a great out-cry came upon them, watch.  
 and assaulted them fiercely; but finding better resistance  
 than they looked for, and seeing themselves discovered by  
 the shippes, tooke themselves to their heeles and returned  
 to their cannoas, in which they imbarcked themselves, and  
 departed. One affirmed, he saw the cannoas; another,  
 their long hayre; a third, their bowes; a fourth, that it  
 could not be, but that some of them had their payments.  
 And it was worth the sight, to behold those which had not  
 moved out of their beds in many moneths, unlesse by the  
 helpe of others, gotten some a bow-shoot off into the woods,  
 others into the toppes of trees, and those which had any  
 strength, joyned together to fight for their lives. In fine,  
 the boothes and tents were left desolate.<sup>1</sup>

To colour our businesse the better, after we had spent  
 some houres in seeking out and joyning the companie  
 together, in comforting, animating, and commending them,  
 I left them an extraordinary guard for that night, and so  
 departed to our shippes, with such an opinion of the assault  
 given by the Indians, that many so possessed, through all  
 the voyage, would not be perswaded to the contrary.  
 Which impression wrought such effect in most of my com-  
 panie, that in all places where the Indians might annoy us,  
 they were ever after most carefull and vigilant, as was  
 convenient.

In these ilands it heigheth and falleth some five or six

<sup>1</sup> A sudden sensation, be it from fear or otherwise, has a surprising  
 effect upon persons sick or bed-ridden. Lediard relates that in a sharp  
 engagement with a combined squadron of French and Dutch ships, off  
 St. Christopher, in 1667, Sir John Harman, the English commander,  
 who had been lame and in great pain from the gout, upon discovering  
 the enemy's fleet, got up, walked about, and gave orders as well as  
 ever, till the fight was over, and then became as lame as before.



Sect. xxx.

Condite  
head.

tenne leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the shore, lyeth a bigge rocke, which at the first wee had thought to be a shippe under all her sayles : but after, as we came neere, it discovered it selfe to be a rocke, which we called *Condite-head*; for that howsoever a man cometh with it, it is like to the condite heads about the cittie of London.

All this coast, so farre as wee discovered, lyeth next of any thing east and by north, and west and by south. The land, for that it was discovered in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth, my soveraigne lady and mistres, and a maiden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endeavours, I gave it the name of *HAWKINS maiden-land*.<sup>1</sup>

Hawkins  
maiden-  
land.Bedds of  
oreweed  
with white  
flowers.

Before a man fall with this land, some twentie or thirtie leagues, he shall meete with bedds of oreweed, driving to and fro in that sea, with white flowers growing upon them, and sometimes farther off; which is a good show and signe the land is neere, whereof the westernmost part lyeth some threescore leagues from the neerest land of America.

Our com-  
ming to the  
Straites.

With our fayre and large wind, we shaped our course for the Straites; and the tenth of February we had sight of land, and it was the head land of the Straites to the north-wards, which agreed with our height, wherein we found our selves to be, which was in fifty-two degrees and fortie minutes.

Within a few houres we had the mouth of the Straites open, which lyeth in fifty-two degrees, and fifty minutes. It riseth like the North Foreland in Kent,

<sup>1</sup> It is generally supposed that this land was the Falkland Islands; but as they lie betwixt 51° and 53°, this cannot be reconciled with being "next of anything in 48°". In this parallel, the main land projects to the eastward; and this perhaps was the land he descried. The rock like a sail might be the Bellaco rock.

The Falkland Islands were really discovered by Captain John Davis in 1591.

rison, and a place well peopled. The Isla Grand is some Sect. xxvii. eight or ten leagues long, and causeth a goodly harbour for shipping. It is full of great sandie bayes, and in the most of them is store of good water; within this iland are many other smaller ilands, which cause divers sounds and creekes; and amongst these little ilands, one, for the plea- Little iland. sant scituation and fertilitie thereof, called Placentia. This is peopled, all the rest desert: on this island our prisoners desired to be put a shore, and promised to send us some refreshing. Whereto we condescended, and sent them ashore, with two boates well man'd and armed, who found few inhabitants in the iland; for our people saw not above foure or five houses, notwithstanding our boats returned loaden with plantynes, pinias,<sup>1</sup> potatoes, sugar-canes, and some hennes. Amongst which they brought a kind of little plantyne, greene, and round, which were the best of any that I have seene.

With our people came a Portingall, who said, that the island was his; he seemed to be a Mistecho,<sup>2</sup> who are those that are of a Spanish and an Indian brood, poorely apparelled and miserable; we feasted him, and gave him some trifles, and he, according to his abilitie, answered our courtesie with such as he had.

The wind continuing contrary, we emptied all the water wee could come by, which we had filled in Saint James his iland, and filled our caske with the water of this Isla Isla Grand. Grand. It is a wilderness, covered with trees and shrubs so thicke, as it hath no passage through, except a man make it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and cryes of wild beastes in these woods day and night, which we could not come at to see by any meanes; some like lyons, others like beares, others like hoggs, and of such and so many diversities, as was admirable.

Heere our nets profited us much; for in the sandy bayes

<sup>1</sup> Pine apples, *Ananassa sativa*.

<sup>2</sup> Mestizo.

Sect. xxx. entred into a goodly bay, which runneth up into the land northerly many leagues; and at first entrance a man may see no other thing, but as it were a maine sea. From the end of this first reach, you must direct your course west south-west, and some fourteene or fiteene leagues lyeth one of the narrowest places of all the Straites; this leadeth unto another reach, that lyeth west and by north some six leagues.

Here, in the middle of the reach, the winde tooke us by the north-west, and so we were forced to anchor some two or three dayes. In which time, we went a shore with our boates, and found neere the middle of this reach, on the star-boord side, a reasonable good place to ground and trimme a small ship, where it higheth some nine or ten foote water. Here we saw certaine hogges, but they were so farre from us, that wee could not discerne if they were of those of the countrie, or brought by the Spaniards; these were all the beasts which we saw in all the time we were in the Straites.

Note. In two tydes we turned through this reach, and so recovered the ilands of Pengwins; they lie from this reach foure leagues southwest and by west. Till you come to this place, care is to be taken of not comming too neere to any poynt of the land; for being, for the most part, sandie, they have sholding off them, and are somewhat dangerous. These ilands have beene set forth by some to be three; we could discover but two: and they are no more, except that part of the mayne, which lyeth over against them, be an iland, which carrieth little likelihood, and I cannot determine it. A man may sayle betwixt the two ilands, or betwixt them and the land on the larboord side; from which land to the bigger iland, as it were, a bridge or ledge, on which is foure or five fathome water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may justly cause

The ilands  
of Peng-  
wins.

Portingals call *Farina de Paw*.<sup>1</sup> It serveth for marchan- Sect. xxv  
 dize in Angola, for the Portingals foode in the ship, and  
 to nourish the negroes which they should carry to the river  
 of Plate. This meale is made of a certaine roote which the  
 Indians call *yuca*, much like unto potatoes. Of it are two  
 kindes: the one sweete and good to be eaten (either roasted  
 or sodden) as potatoes, and the other of which they make  
 their bread, called *cassavi*; deadly poyson, if the liquor or  
 juyce bee not thoroughly pressed out. So prepared it is  
 the bread of Brazill, and many parts of the Indies, which  
 they make in this maner: first they pare the roote, and  
 then upon a rough stone they grate it as small as they can,  
 and after that it is grated small, they put it into a bag or The pressi  
ing there  
for food.  
 poke, and betwixt two stones, with great waight, they  
 presse out the juyce or poyson, and after keepe it in some  
 bag, till it hath no juyce nor moysture left.<sup>2</sup> Of this they  
 make two sorts of bread, the one finer and the other  
 courser, but bake them after one maner. They place a  
 great broad smooth stone upon other foure which serve in  
 steede of a trevet, and make a quicke fire under it, and so  
 strawe the flower or meale a foote long, and halfe a foot  
 broad. To make it to incorporate, they sprinkle now and  
 then a little water, and then another rowe of meale, and  
 another sprinkling, till it be to their minde; that which is  
 to be spent presently, they make a finger thicke, and some-  
 times more thicke; but that which they make for store, is  
 not above halfe a finger thicke, but so hard, that if it fall  
 on the ground it will not breake easily. Being newly  
 baked, it is reasonable good, but after fewe dayes it is not  
 to be eaten, except it be soaked in water. In some partes  
 they suffer the meale to become fenoed,<sup>3</sup> before they make

<sup>1</sup> *Farina do pao*—flour of wood.

<sup>2</sup> Cassava or manioc is of the natural order *Euphorbiaceæ*. The root  
 abounds with a poisonous juice, but this after maceration is driven off  
 by heat, and the fecula is obtained in an edible state. Tapioca is a  
 preparation of cassava.

<sup>3</sup> *Vinewed*—mouldy.

**Sect. XXVIII.** If they goe to the warre, or in any journey, where it necessary to carry provision or marchandize, the women serve to carry all, and the men never succour nor ea them; wherein they shew greater barbarisme then in a thing, in my opinion, that I have noted amongst them except in eating one another.

**Polygamy of the Indians.** In Brasill, and in the West Indies, the Indian may ha as many wives as he can get, either bought or given by his friends: the men and women, for the most part, go naked, and those which have come to know their shame cover onely their privie parts with a peece of cloth, the rest of their body is naked. Their houses resemble gre barnes, covered over or thatched with plantyne leave which reach to the ground, and at either end is the doore.

**Their manner of housing.** In one house are sometimes ten or twentie households they have little household stuffe, besides their beds, which they call *hamacas*,<sup>1</sup> and are made of cotton, and stayne with divers colours and workes. Some I have seene white of great curiositie. They are as a sheete laced at both ends, and at either end of them long strappes, with which they fasten them to two posts, as high as a mans middell and so sit rocking themselves in them. Sometimes they use them for seates, and sometimes to sleepe in at their pleasures. In one of them I have seene sleepe the man his wife, and a childe.

**And sleeping.**

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#### SECTION XXVIII.

WE tooke out of this prize, for our provision, some good quantitie of this meale, and the sugar shee had, being much

<sup>1</sup> The hammock now in general use at sea, takes its name from this term.

above three or four chestes : after three dayes we gave the ship to the Portingalls, and to them libertie. In her was a Portingall knight, which went for governour of Angola, of the habit of Christ, with fiftie souldiers, and armes for a hundreth and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained that after many yeares service for his king, with sundry mishapps, he was brought to that poore estate, as for the relief of his wife, his daughter and himselfe, he had no other substance, but that he had in the ship. It moved compassion, so as nothing of his was diminished, which though to us was of no great moment, in Angola it was worth good crownes. Onely we disarmed them all, and let them depart, saying that they would returne to St. Vincents.

We continued our course for the Straites, my people much animated with this unlookt for refreshing, and praised God for his bounty, providence, and grace extended towards us. Here it will not be out of the way to speake a word of the particularities of the countrie.

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SECTION XXIX.

BRASILL is accounted to be that part of America which lyeth towards our north sea, betwixt the river of the Amazons, neere the lyne to the northwards, untill a man come to the river of Plate in thirty-six degrees to the southwards of the lyne.

This coast generally lyeth next of any thing south and by west ; it is a temperate countrie, though in some parts it exceedeth in heat ; it is full of good succors for shipping, and plentifull for rivers and fresh waters ; the principal habitations are, Farnambuça,<sup>1</sup> the Bay De todos los Santos,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pernambuco.

<sup>2</sup> Bahia.

Sect. XXXI. full of them, that the greatest mathematician of the world could not devise how to place one more then there was upon the hill, leaving onely one path-way for a fowle to passe betwixt.

The hill was all leuell, as if it had beene smoothed by art; the nestes made onely of earth, and seeming to be of the selfe same mould; for the nests and the soyle is all one, which, with water that they bring in their beakes, they make into clay, or a certaine daube, and after fashion them round, as with a compasse. In the bottome they containe the measure of a foote; in the height about eight inches; and in the toppe, the same quantitie over; there they are hollowed in, somewhat deepe, wherein they lay their eggs, without other prevention. And I am of opinion that the sunne helpeth them to hatch their young: their nests are for many yeares, and of one proportion, not one exceeding another in bignesse, in height, nor circumference: and in proportionable distance one from another. In all this hill, nor in any of their nestes, was to be found a blade of grasse, a straw, a sticke, a feather, a moate, no, nor the filing of any fowle, but all the nestes and passages betwixt them, were so smooth and cleane, as if they had beene newly swept and washed.

All of which are motives to prayse and magnifie the universall Creator, who so wonderfully manifesteth his wisdom, bountie, and providence in all his creatures, and especially for his particular love to ingratefull mankinde, for whose contemplation and service he hath made them all.

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SECTION XXXI.

Of seales, or sea-wolves. ONE day, having ended our hunting of pengwins, one of our mariners walking about the iland, discovered a great company of seales, or sea-wolves (so called for that they

discover a remedie for it, unto a religious person ; it is like Sect. XX.  
 a magot, but more slender, and longer, and of a greene  
 colour, with a red head ; this worme creepeth in at the  
 hinder parts, where is the evacuation of our superfluities,  
 and there, as it were, gleweth himselfe to the gutt, there  
 feedeth of the bloud and humors, and becommeth so great,  
 that stopping the naturall passage, he forceth the princi-  
 pall wheele of the clocke of our bodie to stand still, and  
 with it the accompt of the houres of life to take end, with  
 most cruell torment and paine, which is such, that he who  
 hath beene thoroughly punished with the collique can quickly  
 decipher or demonstrate. The antidote for this pernicious  
 worme is garlique ; and this was discovered by a physitian  
 to a religious person.

## SECTION XXX.

BETWIXT twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees neere the  
 coast lyeth an iland ; the Portingalls call it Santa Catalina, Santa  
Catalina.  
 which is a reasonable harbour, and hath good refreshing of  
 wood, water, and fruit. It is desolate, and serveth for  
 those who trade from Brasill to the river of Plate, or from  
 the river to Brasill, as an inne, or bayting place.<sup>1</sup>

In our navigation towards the Straites, by our observa-  
 tion wee found that our compass varied a poynt and Variation  
of the cor-  
pass.  
 better to the eastwards. And for that divers have written  
 curiously and largely of the variation thereof, I referre  
 them that desire the understanding of it, to the *Discourse*  
 of Master William Aborrawh,<sup>2</sup> and others ; for it is a secret,

<sup>1</sup> Saint Catherine's now ranks as a port after Rio Janeiro and Bahia.

<sup>2</sup> A misprint for Borough. Mr. Borough, Comptroller of the Navy, found the variation of the compass at Limehouse to be 11° 19' E. in 1580. He published a discourse on the variation of the compass (Lon-



## SECTION XXXII.

**Sect. xxxii.** **Devices in sudden accidents.** ONE day, our boates being loaden with pengwins, and coming aboard, a sudden storme tooke them, which together with the fury of the tyde, put them in such great danger, that although they threw all their loading into the sea, yet were they forced to goo before the wind and sea, to save their lives. Which we seeing, and considering that our welfare depended upon their safetie, being impossible to weigh our anchor, fastned an emptie barrell well pitched to the end of our cable, in stead of a boy, and letting it slip, set sayle to succour our boates, which in short space wee recovered, and after returned to the place where we ryd before.

The storme ceasing, we used our diligence by all meanes to seeke our cable and anchor ; but the tyde being forcible, and the weeds (as in many parts of the Straites), so long, that riding in fourteene fathome water, many times they streamed three and four fathomes upon the ryme of the water ; these did so inrole our cable, that we could never set eye of our boy ; and to sweepe for him was but lost labour, because of the weeds, which put us out of hope to recover it.<sup>1</sup>

And so our forcible businesse being ended, leaving instructions for the *Fancie* our pynace, according to appointment, where to find us, we inroled them in many folds of paper, put them into a barrell of an old musket, and stopped it in such a manner as no wett could enter ; then placing it an end upon one of the highest hills, and the most frequented of all the iland, wee imbarcked our selves, and set sayle with the wind at north-west, which could serve us but

<sup>1</sup> *Fucus giganteus*.—In the voyage of the *Adventure* and *Beagle* it was found firmly rooted in twenty fathome, yet streaming fifty feet upon the surface.

Moreover, if shee had beene with me, I had not beene <sup>Sect. xxx.</sup> discovered upon the coast of Perew. But I was worthy to <sup>The cause.</sup> be deceived, that trusted my ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his generall before in the like occasion, and in the selfe-same place ; for being with <sup>Inadeltie.</sup> Master Thomas Candish, master of a small ship in the voyage wherein he dyed, this captaine being aboard the Admirall, in the night time forsooke his fleet, his generall and captaine, and returned home.

This bad custome is too much used amongst sea-men, and worthy to be severely punished ; for doubtless the not punishing of those offenders hath beene the prime cause of many lamentable events, losses, and overthrowes, to the dishonour of our nation, and frustrating of many good and honourable enterprises.

In this poynt of discipline, the Spaniards doe farre sur- <sup>Discipline of the Spanish.</sup> passe us ; for whosoever forsaketh his fleete, or commander, is not onely severely punished, but deprived also of all charge or government for ever after. This in our countrie is many times neglected ; for that there is none to follow the cause, the principalls being either dead with griefe, or drowned in the gulfes of povertie, and so not able to wade through with the burthen of that suite, which in Spaine is prosecuted by the kings attorney, or fiscall ; or at least, a judge appoynted for determining that cause purposely.

Yea, I cannot attribute the good successe the Spaniard <sup>The only cause of their prosperities.</sup> hath had in his voyages and peoplings, to any extraordinary vertue more in him then in any other man, were not discipline, patience, and justice far superior. For in valour, experience, and travell, he surpasseth us not ; in shipping, preparation, and plentie of vitualls, hee commeth not neere us ; in paying and rewarding our people, no nation did goe beyond us : but God, who is a just and bountifull rewarder, piratical prahus of the Indian Archipelago are fitted with a similar defence.

Sect. XXXII. Here the wind scanted, and forced us to seek a place to anchor in. Our boates going alongst the shore, found a reasonable harbour, which is right against that which they call river Ieronimo ; but it is another channell, by which a man may disemboake the straites, as by the other which is accustomed ; for with a storme, which took us one night, suddenly we were forced into that opening unwittingly ; but in the morning, seeing our error, and the wind larging, with two or three bourds wee turned out into the old channell, not daring for want of our pynace to attempt any new discoverie.<sup>1</sup>

Blanches  
bay.

This harbour we called Blanches bay : for that it was found by William Blanch, one of our masters mates. Here having moored our shippe, we began to make our provision of wood and water, whereof was plentie in this bay, and in all other places from Pengwin ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the Straites.

Now finding our deckes open, with the long lying under the lyne and on the coast of Brasill, the sunne having beene in our zenith many times, we calked our ship within board and without, above the decks. And such was the diligence we used, that at foure dayes end, we had above threescore pipes of water, and twentie boats of wood stowed in our ship ; no man was idle, nor otherwise busied but in necessary workes : some in felling and cleaving of wood : some in carrying of water ; some in romaging ; some in washing ; others in baking ; one in heating of pitch ; another in gathering of mussells ; no man was exempted, but knew at evening whereunto he was to betake himselfe the morning following.

Objection  
of waste.

Some man might aske me how we came to have so many emptie caske in less then two moneths ; for it seemeth

<sup>1</sup> This was probably the opening into Otway water, leading to Skyring water, but not disemboaging into the Pacific.

much that so few men in such short time, and in so long a Sect. xxxii. voyage, should waste so much?

Whereto I answer, that it came not of excessive ex- Answers. pence; for in health we never exceeded our ordinary; but of a mischance which befell us unknowne in the iland of Saint James, or Saint Anne, in the coast of Brasill, where we refreshed our selves, and according to the custome layd our caske a shore, to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for us. But with the water a certaine worm, called *broma* by the Spaniard, and by us *arters*, entred also, which eat it so full of holes that all the water soaked out, and made much of our caske of small use. This we remedied the best wee could, and discovered it long before we came to this place.

Hereof let others take warning, in no place to have caske Warning against wormes. on the shore where it may be avoyded; for it is one of the provisions which are with greatest care to be preserved in long voyages, and hardest to be supplied. These *arters* or *broma*, in all hott countries, enter into the planks of shippes, and especially where are rivers of fresh water; for the common opinion is that they are bred in fresh water, and with the current of the rivers are brought into the sea; but experience teacheth that they breed in the great seas in all hott clymates, especially neere the equinoctiall lyne; for lying so long under and neere the lyne, and towing a shalop at our sterne, comming to clense her in Brasill, we found her all under water covered with these wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outside of the planke, not fully covered, but halfe the thicknesse of their bodie, like to a gelly, wrought into the planke as with a gowdge. And naturall reason, in my judgement, confirmeth this; for creatures bred and nourished in the sea, comming into fresh water die; as those actually bred in ponds or fresh rivers, die presently, if they come into salt water.

Sect. XXXII. But some man may say, this fayleth in some fishes and beasts. Which I must confesse to be true; but these eyther are part terrestriall, and part aquatile, as the mermaide, sea-horse, and other of that kind, or have their breeding in the fresh, and growth or continuall nourishment in the salt water, as the salmond, and others of that kinde.

Sheathing  
of shippes.

In little time, if the shippe be not sheathed, they put all in hazard; for they enter in no bigger then a small Spanish needle, and by little and little their holes become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the planke is, the greater he groweth; yea, I have seene many shippes so eaten, that the most of their planks under water have beene like honey combs, and especially those betwixt wind and water. If they had not been sheathed, it had bin impossible that they could have swomme. The entring of them is hardly to be discerned, the most of them being small as the head of a pinne.<sup>1</sup> Which, all such as purpose long voyages, are to prevent by sheathing their shippes.

And for that I have scene divers mauners of sheathing, for the ignorant I will set them downe which by experience I have found best.

In Spaine  
and Portingall.

In Spaine and Portingall, some sheathe their shippes with lead; which, besides the cost and waight, although they use the thinnest sheet-lead that I have seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subject to many casualties.

With double  
plankes.

Another manner is used with double plankes, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring: which is little better then that with lead; for, besides his waight,

<sup>1</sup> The *teredo navalis* is very destructive. Nothing but metal is proof against its ravages. It is not clear what may be its purpose in boring into any wood that comes in its way, for it is thought not to be nourished by what it destroys.

it dureth little, because the worme in small time passeth Sect. xxxii.  
through the one and the other.

A third manner of sheathing hath beene used amongst With  
canvas.  
some with fine canvas ; which is of small continuance, and  
so not to be regarded.

The fourth prevention, which now is most accompted of, With burnt  
plankes.  
is to burne the utter planke till it come to be in every place  
like a cole, and after to pitch it ; this is not bad.

In China, as I have been enformed, they use a certaine In China  
with  
varnish.  
betane or varnish, in manner of an artificiall pitch, where-  
with they trim the outside of their shippes. It is said to  
be durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme nor water  
peirceth it ; neither hath the sunne power against it.

Some have devised a certaine pitch, mingled with glasse  
and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if  
the shippe be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth  
it dyeth ; but I have not heard that it hath beene useful.

But the most approved of all, is the manner of sheathing In England.  
used now adayes in England, with thin bourds, halfe inche  
thicke ; the thinner the better ; and elme better than oake ;  
for it ryveth not, it indureth better under water, and  
yeeldeth better to the shippes side.

The invention of the materialles incorporated betwixt the  
planke and the sheathing, is that indeed which avayleth ;  
for without it many planks were not sufficient to hinder  
the entrance of this worme ; this manner is thus :

Before the sheathing board is nayled on, upon the inner Best man-  
ner of  
sheathing.  
side of it they smere it over with tarre halfe a finger thicke  
and upon the tarre another halfe finger thicke of hayre,  
such as the whitelymers use, and so nayle it on, the nayles  
not above a spanne distance one from another ; the thicker  
they are driven, the better.

Some hold opinion that the tarre killeth the worme ;  
others, that the worme passing the sheathing, and seeking  
a way through, the hayre and the tarre so involve him that

Sect. XXXIII he is choked therewith; which me thinkes is most probable; this manner of sheathing was invented by my father, and experience hath taught it to be the best and of least cost.<sup>1</sup>

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## SECTION XXXIII.

SUCH was the diligence we used for our dispatch to shoot the Straites, that at foure dayes ende, wee had our water and wood stowed in our shippe, all our copper-worke finished, and our shippe calked from post to stemme; the first day in the morning, the winde being fayre, we brought our selves into the channell, and sayled towards the mouth of the Straites, praising God; and beginning our course with little winde, we descryed a fire upon the shore, made by the Indians for a signe to call us; which scene, I caused a boat to be man'de, and we rowed ashore, to see what their meaning was, and approaching neere the shore, wee saw a cannoa, made fast under a rock with a wyth, most artificially made with the rindes of trees, and sowed together with the finnes of whales; at both ends sharpe, and turning up, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for strengthening it. After a little while, we might discern on the fall of the mountaine (which was full of trees and shrubbes), two or three Indians naked, which came out of certaine caves or coates. They spake unto us, and made divers signes; now poynting to the hãrbour, out of which we were come, and then to the mouth of the Straites; but we understood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they

<sup>1</sup> These inventions have been improved upon by the use of copper and other metals; of these, copper is the best; and an approved method of applying it, is over a coating of felt. Truly there is nothing new under the sun.

us with many imaginations, suspecting it might be to advise us of our pynace, or some other thing of moment ; but for that they were under covert, and might worke us some treacherie (for all the people of the Straites, and the land nere them, use all the villany they can towards white people, taking them for Spaniards, in revenge of the deceit that nation hath used towards them upon sundry occasions ; as also for that by our stay we could reap nothing but hinderance of our navigation), wee hasted to our shippe, and sayled on our course. Sect. XXXIII

From Blanches Bay to long reach, which is some foure leagues, the course lyeth west south-west entring into the long reach, which is the last of the Straits, and longest. For it is some thirty-two leagues, and the course lyeth next of any thing north-west. Long Reach.

Before the setting of the sunne, wee had the mouth of the straits open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South sea ; but about seaven of the clocke that night, we saw a great cloud rise out of the north-east, which began to cast forth great flashes of lightnings, and sodainely sayling with a fresh gale of wind at north-east another more forcible tooke us astayes ;<sup>1</sup> which put us in danger ; for all our sayles being a taut, it had like to overset our ship, before we could take in our sayles. And therefore in all such semblances it is great wisdom to carry a short sayle, or to take in all sayles.

Heere we found what the Indians forewarned<sup>2</sup> us of ; for they have great insight in the change of weather, and besides have secret dealings with the prince of darknesse, who many times declareth unto them things to come. By Note.

<sup>1</sup> Taken *astayes*—another term for taken aback.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the natives may have been aware of the coming change. The suspicion entertained of them is an instance of the mistakes often fallen into by misconceiving the motives of those whose language cannot be understood.



Sect. xxxiii this meanes and other witch-crafts, which he teacheth them, hee possesseth them, and causeth them to doe what pleaseth him.

Within halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with so much winde as wee were forced to lye a hull, and so darke, that we saw nothing but when the lightning came. This being one of the narrowest reaches of all the straites, wee were forced, every glasse, to open a little of our fore-sayle, to cast about our ships head: any man may conceive if the night seemed long unto us, what desire we had to see the day. In fine, Phœbus with his beautiful face lightned our hemisphere, and rejoyced our heartes (having driven above twenty-foure leagues in twelve houres, lying a hull: whereby is to be imagined the force of the winde and current).

We set our fore-sayle, and returned to our former harbour, from whence, within three or foure dayes, we set sayle againe, with a faire winde, which continued with us till we came within a league of the mouth of the straite; here the winde tooke us againe contrary, and forced us to returne againe to our former port; where being ready to anchor, the wind scanted with us in such maner, as wee were forced to make a bourd. In which time, the winde and tide put us so farre to lee-wards, that we could by no meanes seize it: so we determined to goe to Elizabeth bay, but before we came at it, the night overtooke us; and this reach being dangerous and narrow, wee durst neither hull, nor trye,<sup>1</sup> or turne to and againe with a short sayle, and therefore bare alongst in the midst of the channell, till we were come into the broad reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

When we set sayle and ran alongst the coast, seeking

<sup>1</sup> To hull, is to lie without sail set; to try, with only low sail; whence we have now special storm sails, called try sails. We believe the correct expression is "to try" either a *hull* or *under sail*.

feare: for it showeth to be shold water with his rypling, Sect. xxx.  
like unto a race.<sup>1</sup>

Betwixt the former reach, and these ilands, runneth up a goodly bay into the country to the north-wards. It causeth a great indraught, and above these ilands runneth a great tide from the mouth of the Straites to these ilands; the land on the larboord side is low land and sandy, for the most part, and without doubt, ilands, for it hath many openings into the sea, and forcible indraughts by them, and that on the starboord side, is all high mountaynous land from end to end; but no wood on eyther side. Before wee passed these ilands, under the lee of the bigger iland, we anchored, the wind being at north-east, with intent to refresh ourselves with the fowles of these ilands. They are of divers sorts, and in great plentie, as pengwins, Good provision in the Straites. wilde duckes, gulles, and gannets; of the principall we purposed to make provisions, and those were the pengwins; which in Welsh, as I have beene enformed, signifieth a white head. From which derivation, and many other Welsh denominations given by the Indians, or their predecessors, some doe inferre that America was first peopled with Welsh-men; and Motezanna,<sup>2</sup> king, or rather emperor of Mexico, did recount unto the Spaniards, at their first comming, that his auncestors came from a farre countrie, and were white people. Which, conferred with an auncient cronicle, that I have read many yeares since, may be conjectured to bee a prince of Wales, who many hundredth yeares since, with certain shippes, sayled to the westwards, with intent to make new discoveries. Hee was never after heard of.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The tides run with great velocity in some parts of the Straits. The rippling might justly cause fear, ignorant as the parties were of the extent of the rise and fall of tide. Fitz Roy relates that an American captain hardly recovered being told that it amounted to six or seven fathoms.

<sup>2</sup> Montezuma.

<sup>3</sup> The story of Madoc is told by Southey, and much curious lore connected with it may be gathered from the foot-notes to his poem.

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<sup>1</sup> Birds which are strong-flavoured are rendered edible by stripping off their skin.

themselves persecuted, they would tumble downe from Sect. xx. such high rocks and mountaines, as it seemed impossible to escape with life. Yet as soone as they came to the beach, presently wee should see them runne into the sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other followeth, like sheepe after the bel-wether: but in getting them once within the ring, close together, few escaped, save such as by chance hid themselves in the borrowes; and ordinarily there was no drove which yeeldeth us not a thousand or more: the manner of killing them which the hunters used, being in a cluster together, was with their cudgels to knocke them on the head; for though a man gave them many blowes on the body, they died not; besides, the flesh bruised is not good to keepe. The massaker ended, presently they cut off their heads, that they might bleed well: such as wee determined to keepe for store, wee saved in this maner. First, we split them, and The keepe for store. then washed them well in sea water, then salted them; having layne some sixe howres in salt, wee put them in presse eight howres, and the blood being soaked out, we salted them againe in our other caske, as is the custome to salte beefe; after this maner they continued good some two moneths, and served us in stead of beefe.

The gulls and gannets were not in so great quantitie, The gulls yet we wanted not young gullles to eate all the time of our stay about these ilands. It was one of the delicatest foodes that I have eaten in all my life.

The ducks are different to ours, and nothing so good Ducks. meate; yet they may serve for necessitie. They were many, and had a part of the iland to themselves severall, which was the highest hill, and more than a musket shot over.

In all the dayes of my life, I have not seene greater art and curiositie in creatures voyd of reason, then in the placing and making of their nestes; all the hill being so

Sect. XXXIV. stood over to English bay, and fetching it, we anchored there, having been some three houres upon the rocke, and with the blow, as after we saw when our ship was brought aground in Perico (which is the port of Panama), a great part of her sheathing was beaten off on both sides in her bulges,<sup>1</sup> and some foure foote long and a foote square of her false stemme, joyning to the keele, wrested a crosse, like unto a hogges yoake, which hindered her sayling very much.

and there-  
fore  
prayed.

Here we gave God prayse for our deliverance, and afterward procured to supply our wood and water, which we had throwne overboard to ease our shippe, which was not much: that supplied, it pleased God (who is not ever angry), to looke upon us with comfort, and to send us a fayre and large wind, and so we set sayle once againe, in hope to disemboke the strait; but some dozen leagues before we came to the mouth of it, the wind changed, and forced us to seeke out some cove or bay, with our boates to ride in neere at hand, that we might not be forced to returne farre backe into the straites.

Crabby  
cove.

They sounded a cove some sixteene leagues from the mouth of the strait, which after we called Crabby cove. It brooked its name well for two causes; the one for that all the water was full of a small kinde of redd crabbes; the other, for the crabbed mountaines which overtopped it; a third, we might adde, for the crabbed entertainment it gave us. In this cove we anchored, but the wind freshening in, and three or foure hilles over-topping, like sugar-loaves, altered and straightned the passage of the wind in such manner, as forced it downe with such violence in flaws and furious blusterings, as was like to over-set our shippe at an anchor, and caused her to drive, and us to weigh; but before we could weigh it, shee was so neere the rockes, and

<sup>1</sup> Now called bilge—that part of the ship's bottom that bulges or swells out. When a ship takes the ground and heels over, the bilge bears all the strain, and consequently suffers damage.

in the sea, as the wolves on the land), advising us that Sect. XXXI.  
 he left them sleeping, with their bellies toasting against the  
 sunne. Wee provided ourselves with staves, and other  
 weapons, and sought to steale upon them at unawares, to  
 surprise some of them; and comming down the side of a  
 hill, wee were not discovered till we were close upon them:  
 notwithstanding, their sentinell, before we could approach,  
 with a great howle waked them: wee got betwixt the sea  
 and some of them, but they shunned us not; for they came  
 directly upon us; and though we dealt here and there a  
 blow, yet not a man that withstood them, escaped the  
 overthrow. They reckon not of a musket shott, a sword  
 peirceth not their skinne, and to give a blow with a staffe,  
 is as to smite upon a stone: onely in giving the blow upon  
 his snout, presently he falleth downe dead.

After they had recovered the water, they did, as it were,  
 scorne us, defie us, and daunced before us, untill we had  
 shot some musket shott through them, and so they ap-  
 peared no more.

This fish is like unto a calfe, with four leggs, but not  
 above a spanne long: his skinne is hayrie like a calfe; but  
 these were different to all that ever I have seene, yet I have  
 seene of them in many parts; for these were greater, and  
 in their former parts like unto lyons, with shagge hayre,  
 and mostaches.

They live in the sea, and come to sleepe on the land, and  
 they ever have one that watcheth, who adviseth them of  
 any accident.

They are beneficiall to man in their skinnnes for many  
 purposes; in their mostaches for pick-teeth, and in their  
 fatt to make traine-oyle. This may suffice for the seale, for  
 that he is well knowne.

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## SECTION XXXII.

Sect. XXXII. **ONE** day, our boates being loaden with pengwins, and coming aboard, a sudden storme tooke them, which together with the fury of the tyde, put them in such great danger, that although they threw all their loading into the sea, yet were they forced to goe before the wind and sea, to save their lives. Which we seeing, and considering that our welfare depended upon their safetie, being impossible to weigh our anchor, fastned an emptie barrell well pitched to the end of our cable, in stead of a boy, and letting it slip, set sayle to succour our boates, which in short space wee recovered, and after returned to the place where we ryd before.

Devises in  
sudden  
accidents.

The storme ceasing, we used our diligence by all meanes to seeke our cable and anchor ; but the tyde being forcible, and the weeds (as in many parts of the Straites), so long, that riding in fourteene fathome water, many times they streamd three and four fathomes upon the ryme of the water ; these did so inrole our cable, that we could never set eye of our boy ; and to sweepe for him was but lost labour, because of the weeds, which put us out of hope to recover it.<sup>1</sup>

And so our forcible businesse being ended, leaving instructions for the *Fancie* our pynace, according to appointment, where to find us, we inroled them in many folds of paper, put them into a barrell of an old musket, and stopped it in such a manner as no wett could enter ; then placing it an end upon one of the highest hills, and the most frequented of all the iland, wee imbarcked our selves, and set sayle with the wind at north-west, which could serve us but

<sup>1</sup> *Fucus giganteus*.—In the voyage of the *Adventure* and *Beagle* it was found firmly rooted in twenty fathome, yet streaming fifty feet upon the surface.

o the end of that reach, some dozen leagues long, and Sect. XXXII  
ome three or four leagues broad. It lyeth next of any  
king, till you come to Cape Agreda, south-west; from this  
ape to Cape Froward, the coast lyeth west south-west.

Some foure leagues betwixt them, was the second peo- The second  
peopling of  
the Spani-  
ards.  
ling of the Spaniards: and this Cape lyeth in fiftie five  
degrees and better.

Thwart Cape Froward, the wind larged with us, and we  
continued our course towards the iland of Elizabeth; which  
ath from Cape Froward some foureteene leagues west and  
south. This reach is foure or five leagues broad, and in  
are many channells or openings into the sea; for all the  
and on the souther part of the Straites are ilands and  
roken land; and from the beginning of this reach to the  
and of the Straites, high mountaynous land on both sides, in  
most parts covered with snow all the yeare long.

Betwixt the iland Elizabeth and the mayne, is the nar-  
rowest passage of all the Straites; it may be some two  
musket shott from side to side.<sup>1</sup> From this strait to  
Elizabeth bay is some four leagues, and the course lyeth Elizabeth  
bay.  
north-west and by west.

This bay is all sandie and cleane ground on the easter  
part; but before you come at it, there lyeth a poynt of the  
shore a good byrth off, which is dangerous. And in this  
reach, as in many parts of the Straites, runneth a quick  
and forcible tyde. In the bay it higheth eight or nine foote  
water. The norther part of the bay hath foule ground,  
and rockes under water: and therefore it is not wholesome  
borrowing of the mayne. One of master Thomas Candish  
his pynaces, as I have been enformed, came a-ground upon  
one of them, and he was in hazard to have left her there.

From Elizabeth bay to the river of Ieronimo, is some five The river o  
Ieronimo.  
leagues. The course lyeth west and by north, and west.

<sup>1</sup> The narrowest part is in Crooked Reach, a little to the westward  
of St. Jerome point: here the strait is about one mile across.



Sect. xxx. tenne leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the shore, lyeth a bigge rocke, which at the first wee had thought to be a shippe under all her sayles : but after, as we came neere, it discovered it selfe to be a rocke, which we called *Condite-head*; for that howsoever a man cometh with it, it is like to the condite heads about the citie of London.

Condite head.

All this coast, so farre as wee discovered, lyeth next of any thing east and by north, and west and by south. The land, for that it was discovered in the raigne of Queen Elizabeth, my soveraigne lady and mistres, and a maiden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetual memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endeavours, I gave it the name of *HAWKINS maiden-land*.<sup>1</sup>

Hawkins maiden-land.

Bedds of oreweed with white flowers.

Before a man fall with this land, some twentie or thirtie leagues, he shall meete with bedds of oreweed, driving to and fro in that sea, with white flowers growing upon them, and sometimes farther off; which is a good show and signe the land is neere, whereof the westermost part lyeth some threescore leagues from the neerest land of America.

Our coming to the Straites.

With our fayre and large wind, we shaped our course for the Straites; and the tenth of February we had sight of land, and it was the head land of the Straites to the north-wards, which agreed with our height, wherein we found our selves to be, which was in fifty-two degrees and fortie minutes.

Within a few houres we had the mouth of the Straites open, which lyeth in fifty-two degrees, and fifty minutes. It riseth like the North Foreland in Kent,

<sup>1</sup> It is generally supposed that this land was the Falkland Islands; but as they lie betwixt 51° and 53°, this cannot be reconciled with being "next of anything in 48°". In this parallel, the main land projects to the eastward; and this perhaps was the land he descried. The rock like a sail might be the Bellaco rock.

The Falkland Islands were really discovered by Captain John Davis

and is much like the land of Margates. It is not good Sect. xxx.  
 to borrow neere the shore, but to give it a fayre birth;  
 within a few houres we entred the mouth of the Straites,  
 which is some six leagues broad, and lyeth in fifty-two  
 degrees, and fifty minutes: doubling the poynt on the  
 star-board, which is also flat, of a good birth, we opened  
 a fayre bay, in which we might discry the hull of a ship  
 beaten upon the beach. It was of the Spanish fleete, that  
 went to inhabite there, in anno 1582, under the charge of  
 Pedro Sarmiento,<sup>1</sup> who at his returne was taken prisoner,  
 and brought into England.

In this bay the Spaniards made their principall habita-  
 tion, and called it the cittie of Saint Philip, and left it Pedro Sar-  
miento  
buildeth  
San-Philip.  
 peopled; but the cold barrennes of the countrie, and the  
 malice of the Indians, with whom they badly agreed, made  
 speedie end of them, as also of those whom they left in the  
 middle of the Straites, three leagues from Cape Froward<sup>2</sup>  
 to the east-wards, in another habitation.

We continued our course alongst this reach (for all the  
 Straites is as a river altering his course, sometimes upon  
 one poynt, sometimes upon another) which is some eight  
 leagues long, and lyeth west north-west. From this we

<sup>1</sup> The expedition of Drake having excited considerable alarm in Peru, the viceroy despatched Don Pedro Sarmiento with orders to take him dead or alive. Proceeding to the Strait of Magellan in pursuit, he complied with the portion of his instructions which directed him to make a careful survey. On his arrival in Spain he pointed out to the King of Spain, Philip II, the importance of fortifying the Straits, to prevent the passage of strangers. Accordingly an expedition was fitted out, which, after some accidents, founded the two settlements of Jesus and San Felipe. The site of the last is now known as Port Famine: so named from the disasters which befell the unhappy colonists, who perished from want. Sarmiento himself having been blown off the coast, appears to have used every effort to obtain and forward supplies from Brazil to his friends, but, proceeding to Europe for further assistance, he was captured and taken to England.

<sup>2</sup> Cape Froward is the southern extremity of South America, in 53° 53' 43" S., and in the middle of Magellan Strait.

Sect. XXXVI. leafe of this tree is of a whitish greene, and is not unlike to the aspen leafe.<sup>1</sup>

Other whiles we entertained our selves in gathering of pearles out of mussels, whereof there are aboundance in all places, from Cape Froward to the end of the straites.

Of pearles. The pearles are but of a bad colour, and small; but it may be that in the great mussels, in deeper water, the pearles are bigger, and of greater value; of the small seed pearle, there are great quantitie, and the mussels were a great refreshing unto us; for they are exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let me crave pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from being a naturalist, by delivering my opinion touching the breeding of these pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West Indies, which are found in oysters; growing in the shell, under the ruff of the oyster, some say of the dewe, which I hold to be some old philosophers conceit, for that it cannot bee made probable how the dew should come into the oyster; and if this were true, then quotionlesse, wee should have them in our oysters as in those of the East and West Indies; but those oysters were, by the Creator, made to bring foorth this rare fruite, all their shels being, to looke to, pearle itselfe. And the other pearles found in our oysters and mussels, in divers partes, are ingendred out of the fatnesse of the fish, in the very substance of the fish; so that in some mussels have beene found twenty, and thirty, in severall partes of the fish, and these not perfect in colour, nor clearenes, as those found in the pearle-oysters, which are ever perfect in colour and clearenes, like the sunne in his rising, and therefore called orientall, and not as is supposed, because out

<sup>1</sup> The tree called Winter's bark, *Drimys Winteri*, was discovered by Captain Winter, one of Drake's officers. The bark is agreeably aromatic, and was found useful in cases of scurvy. See also Darwin's *Naturalist's Voyage* (Murray, ed. 1852), pp. 235, 281.

it dureth little, because the worme in small time passeth Sect. xi  
through the one and the other.

A third manner of sheathing hath beene used amongst With canvas.  
some with fine canvas ; which is of small continuance, and  
so not to be regarded.

The fourth prevention, which now is most accompted of, With bu planks.  
is to burne the utter planke till it come to be in every place  
like a cole, and after to pitch it ; this is not bad.

In China, as I have been enformed, they use a certaine In China with varnish.  
betane or varnish, in manner of an artificiall pitch, where-  
with they trim the outside of their shippes. It is said to  
be durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme nor water  
peirceth it ; neither hath the sunne power against it.

Some have devised a certaine pitch, mingled with glasse  
and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if  
the shippe be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth  
it dyeth ; but I have not heard that it hath beene useful.

But the most approved of all, is the manner of sheathing In Engl  
used now adayes in England, with thin bourds, halfe inche  
thicke ; the thinner the better ; and elme better than oake ;  
for it ryveth not, it indureth better under water, and  
yeeldeth better to the shippes side.

The invention of the materialles incorporated betwixt the  
planke and the sheathing, is that indeed which avayleth ;  
for without it many planks were not sufficient to hinder  
the entrance of this worme ; this manner is thus :

Before the sheathing board is nayled on, upon the inner Best ma-  
ner of  
sheathin  
side of it they smere it over with tarre halfe a finger thicke  
and upon the tarre another halfe finger thicke of hayre,  
such as the whitelymers use, and so nayle it on, the nayles  
not above a spanne distance one from another ; the thicker  
they are driven, the better.

Some hold opinion that the tarre killeth the worme ;  
others, that the worme passing the sheathing, and seeking  
a way through, the hayre and the tarre so involve him that

Sect. xxxvii by poyson and other inventions to consume them ; yet their increase being so ordinary and many, wee were not able to cleare our selves from them.

## SECTION XXXVII.

At the end of fourteene dayes, one evening, being calme, and a goodly cleare in the easter-boord, I willed our anchor to be weyed,<sup>1</sup> and determined to goe into the channell, whereof ensued a murmuring amongst my company, who were desirous to see the winde settled before we put out of the harbour : and in part they had reason, considering how wee had beene canvassed from place to place ; yet on the other side, if wee went not out before night, wee should loose the whole nights sayling, and all the time which we should spend in warping out ; which would be, doubtles, a great part of the fore-noone. And although the master signified unto mee the disposition of my people, and master Henry Courton (a discrete and vertuous gentleman, and my good friend, who in all the voyage was ever an especial furtherer of all that ever I ordained or proposed), in this occasion sought to divert me, that all but my selfe were contrarily inclined to that which I thought fit : and though the common saying be, that it is better to erre with many, then, all contradicting, a one to hit the right way, yet truth tolde mee this proverbe to bee falsely founded ; for that it was not to bee understood, that for erring it is better, but because it is supposed that by hitting a man shall get emulation of the contradictors : I encountered it with another, that sayeth, better to be envied than pittied ; and well con-

Backward-  
ness in the  
company.

and the con-  
sequences  
thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Much discussion has arisen as to whether this should be written *way*, or *weigh*. We think the correct phraseology is this : when the anchor is *weighed*, the ship is under *way*.

sidering, that being out of the harbour, if the winde took Sec. XXXVIII  
us contrary, to goe to Elizabeth bay was better then to bee  
in the port; for a man must of force warpe in and out of  
it, and in the time that the shippe could be brought forth  
into the channell, the winde being good, a man might come  
from Elizabeth bay to the port, and that there we should  
have the wind first, being more to the east-wardes, and in  
an open bay, and moreover might set sayle in the night,  
if the wind should rise in the evening or in the night;  
whereas, in the port, of force, we must waite the light of  
the day. I made my selfe deafe to all murmurings, and  
caused my commaund to be put in execution, and, doubt-  
lesse, it was Gods gracious inspiration, as by the event was  
seene; for being gotten into the channell, within an houre,  
the winde came good, and we sayled merrily on our voyage;  
and by the breake of the day, wee had the mouth of the  
straites open, and about foure of the clocke in the after-  
noone, wee were thwart of Cape Desire;<sup>1</sup> which is the  
westernmost part of the land on the southern side of the  
straites.

## SECTION XXXVIII.

HERE such as have command may behold the many miseries Advertise-  
ments for  
command-  
ers.  
that befall them, not onely by unexpected accidents and  
mischances, but also by contradictions and murmurs of  
their owne people, of all calamities the greatest which can  
befall a man of discretion and valour, and as difficult to be  
overcome; for, to require reason of the common sort, is, as  
the philosopher sayth, to seeke counsell of a madd man.  
Herein, as I sayd before, they resemble a stiff necked

<sup>1</sup> Now called Cape Pillar—on the modern charts Cape Descado lies to  
the south of it. Cape Pillar is in 52° 42' 53" S.

Sect. XXXIX. horse, who taking the bridle in his teeth, carrieth the rider whether he pleaseth; so once possessed with any imagination, no reason is able to convince them. The best remedie I can propound, is to wish our nation in this poynt to be well advised, and in especiall, all those that follow the sea, ever having before their eyes the auncient discipline of our predecessors; who in conformitie and obedience to their chiefes and commanders, have beene a mirror to all other nations, with patience, silence, and suffering, putting in execution what they have beene commanded, and thereby gained the blessings due to such vertues, and leaving to posteritie perpetuall memories of their glorious victories. A just recompence for all such as conquer themselves, and subject their most specious willes to the will of their superiors.

The advantage of obedience.

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SECTION XXXIX.

In apprehension whereof at land, I cannot forebeare the discipline thereof, as at this day, and in the dayes of late memory, it hath beene practised in the states of Flaunders, Fraunce, and Brittain; whereas the Spaniards, Wallons, Switzers, and other nations, are daily full of murmurings and mutenies, upon every sleight occasion.

The like I also wish should be imitated by those who follow the sea; that is, that those who are subject to command, presume no further then to that which belongeth unto them: *Qui nescit parere, nescit imperare.* I speake this, for that I have sometimes seene unexpert and ignorant persons, yea, unable to judge of any poynt appertaining to government, or the guide of a shippe, or company of men, presuming upon their fine witts, and enamoured of their owne conceits, contradict and dispute against grave, wise, and experimented governours: many forward fellowes,

thinking themselves better worthie to command, than to be commanded. Such persons I advise not to goe, but where they may command; or els looking before they leape, to consider well under whom they place themselves, seeing, for the most part, it is in their choyce to choose a governour from whom they may expect satisfaction; but choyce being once made, to resolve with the patient wife in history, that, that day wherein shee married herselfe to an husband, that very day shee had no longer any will more then the will of her husband: and so he that by sea or land placeth himselfe to serve in any action, must make reckoning that the time the journey endureth, he hath no other will, nor dispose of himselfe, than that of his commander; for in the governors hand is all power, to recompence and reward, to punish or forgive.

Sect. xxxi  
Advertisements for  
young ser-  
vitors.

Likewise those who have charge and command, must sometimes with patience or sufferance overcome their fury and misconceits, according to occasions, for it is a great poynt of wisdom, especially in a generall murmuring, where the cause is just, or that, as often times it happeneth, any probable accident may divert the minds of the discontented, and give hope of remedie, or future event may produce repentance, to turne, as they say, the deafe eare, and to winke at that a man seeth. As it is sayde of Charles the fifth, emperour of Germany, and king of Spaine; who rounding his campe, one night, disguised, heard some souldiers rayle and speak evil of him: those which accompanied him were of opinion, that he should use some exemplary punishment upon them; not so, sayth he, for these, now vexed with the miseries they suffer, ease their hearts with their tongues; but if occasion present it selfe, they will not sticke to sacrifice their lives for my safetie. A resolution worthy so prudent a commander, and so magnanimous a prince.

The like is written of Fabius Maximus, the famous



**Sect. XXXIX.** Romaine, who endured the attribute of coward, with many other infamies, rather then he would hazard the safetie of his countrie by rash and uncertaine provocations.

The  
patience of  
the Earle of  
Notting-  
ham.

No lesse worthy of perpetuall memory was the prudent pollicie and government of our English navie, in anno 1588, by the worthy Earle of Nottingham,<sup>1</sup> lord high admirall of England ; who, in like case, with mature and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many couragious and noble captaines, who would have perswaded him to have laid them aboard ; but well he foresaw that the enemy had an armie aboard, he none ; that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those greater in bulke, stronger built, and higher molded, so that they who with such advantage fought from above, might easily distresse all opposition below ; the slaughter, peradventure, proving more fatall then the victory profitable : by being overthrowne, he might have hazzarded the kingdome ; whereas by the conquest, at most, he could have boasted of nothing but glorie, and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance, he alwayes advantaged himselfe of winde and tide ; which was the freedome of our countrey, and securitie of our navie, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant, who judge all things by the externall appearance, seemed invincible ; but truly considered, was much inferior to ours in all things of substance, as the event proved ; for we sunke, spoyled, and tooke of them many, and they diminished of ours but one small pynace, nor any man of name, save onely captaine Cocke, who dyed with honour amidst his company. The greatest dammage, that, as I remember, they caused to any of our shippes, was to the *Swallow* of her majestie, which I had in that action under my charge, with an arrow of fire shott into her beake-head, which we saw not, because of the

<sup>1</sup> After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, was created Earl of Nottingham.

sayle, till it had burned a hole in the nose as bigge as a mans head; the arrow falling out, and driving alongst by the shippes side, made us doubt of it, which after we discovered.

Sect. xli.

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SECTION XL.

IN many occasions, notwithstanding, it is most prejudiciall to dissemble the reprehension and punishment of murmurings and mutterings, when they carry a likelihood to grow to a mutinie, seeme to leane to a faction, or that a person of regard or merite favoureth the intention, or contradicteth the justice, etc., and others of like qualitie. The prudent governour is to cut off this hydra's head in the beginning, and by prevention to provide remedie with expedition; and this sometimes with absolute authoritie, although the best be ever to proceed by counsell, if necessitie and occasion require not the contrary; for passion many times overruleth, but that which is sentenced and executed by consent, is justified, although sometimes erroneous.<sup>1</sup> March 29, 1594.

Mutenies  
not alwayes  
to be  
winked at.

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SECTION xli.

FROM Cape Desire, some foure leagues north-west lye foure ilands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a sugar-loafe. We were no sooner cleare of Cape Desire, and his ledge of rockes, which

<sup>1</sup> The above observations appear to have occurred to our author in consequence of what had taken place during the voyages of Magalhaens and Drake. Both these great commanders, while lying at Port Saint Julian, tried for mutiny, and executed, some of their chief officers.

Sect. xli. lie a great way off into the sea, but the wind took us contrary by the north-west ; and so we stood off into the sea two dayes and two nights to the west-wards.

In all the straites it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places it higheth very little water ; but in some bayes, where are great indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foote, and doubtlesse further in, more. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, he may keepe the mayne sea, and goe round about the straites to the southwards, and it is the shorter way ; for besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the straites is but ilands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having shott the straites, a storme first tooke him at north-west, and after vered about to the south-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees ;<sup>1</sup> which was sufficient testimony and prooffe, that he was beaten round about the straites : for the least height of the straites is in fifty two degrees and fiftie minutes ; in which stands the two entrances or mouths.

South part  
of the  
Straits  
ilands.

Sir Francis  
Drake om-  
braceth the  
souther-  
most point  
of the  
world.

And moreover, he said, that standing about, when the winde changed, he was not well able to double the southermost iland, and so anchored under the lee of it ; and going a-shore, carried a compasse with him, and seeking out the southermost part of the iland, caste himselfe downe upon the uttermost poynt, grovelling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted unto his people that he had beene upon the southermost knowne land in the world, and more further to the southwards upon it then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all, but such as are incredulous, and will beleieve nothing

<sup>1</sup> This must be a misprint ; it should be perhaps 56°.

but what they see : for my part, I am of opinion, that the strait is navigable all the yeare long, although the best time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow seas.<sup>1</sup>

Sect. XII.

Being some fiftie leagues a sea-boord the straites, the winde vering to the west-wards, we cast about to the north-wards, and lying the coast along, shaped our course for the iland Mocha. About the fifteenth of April, we <sup>Mocha.</sup> were thwart of Baldivia, which was then in the hands of <sup>Baldivia.</sup> the Spaniards, but since, the Indians, in anno 1599, dispossessed them of it, and the Conception ; which are two of the most principall places they had in that kingdome, and both ports.

Baldivia had its name of a Spanish captaine so called, whom afterwards the Indians tooke prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why he came to molest them and to take their country from them, having no title nor right thereunto ; he answered, to get gold ; which the barbarians understanding, caused gold to be molten, and poured down his throat, saying, gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information respecting these straits will be found in the voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*. Now that the labours of King and Fitz Roy, and more recently of Mayne, have provided correct charts, the road is well known.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro de Valdivia was the first Governor of Chile, after the transitory invasion of Almagro. He overran the whole country, and founded seven cities : Coquimbo, Santiago, Angol, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago. He founded Santiago on February 24th, 1541. Then the Araucanians rose in arms, and Valdivia seems to have carelessly underrated the danger. The mode of his death related by Hawkins, is fabulous. For the true account, see *Araucana*, Part I, Canto 111 ; and G. de la Vega, *Comm. Real.*, Part I, Lib. vii, cap. 23. The rising took place in 1553, and continued for many years. The most fierce outbreak was in 1599. The city of Valdivia was surprised on November 24th of that year, and entirely destroyed.

Sect. xxxv. sleeting snow, and my people to be dismayde againe, in manifesting a desire to returne to Brasill, which I would never consent unto, no, nor so much as to heare of.

Voyages  
over-  
throwne by  
pretences.

Edward  
Fenton and  
master  
Thomas  
Candish.

Master  
William  
Hawkins.

And all men are to take care that they go not one foote backe, more than is of mere force; for I have not seene that any who have yeelded thereunto, but presently they have returned home. As in the voyage of master Edward Fenton, which the Earle of Cumberland set forth, to his great charge. As also in that of master Thomas Candish, in which he dyed. Both which pretended to shoote the Straites of Magelan, and by perswasion of some ignorant persons, being in good possibilitie, were brought to consent to returne to Brasill, to winter, and after in the spring to attempt the passing of the strait againe. None of them made any abode in Brazill; for presently as soone as they looked homeward, one with a little blustering wind taketh occasion to loose company; another complaineth that he wanteth victuals; another, that his ship is leake; another, that his masts, sayles, or cordidge fayleth him. So the willing never want probable reasons to further their pretences. As I saw once (being but young, and more bold than experimented), in anno 1582, in a voyage, under the charge of my uncle, William Hawkins, of Plimouth, Esquire, in the Indies, at the wester end of the iland of San Iuan de Portorico. One of the shippes, called the barke *Bonner*, being somewhat leake, the captaine complained that she was not able to endure to England; whereupon a counsell was called, and his reasons heard and allowed. So it was concluded that the victuall, munition, and what was serviceable, should be taken out of her, and her men divided amongst our other shippes; the hull remaining to be sunke or burned.

To which I never spake word till I saw it resolved; being my part rather to learne than to advise. But seeing the fatall sentence given, and suspecting that the captaine made

the matter worse then it was, rather upon pollicy to come Sect. xxx  
into another ship, which was better of sayle, then for any  
danger they might runne into; with as much reason as  
my capacitie could reach unto, I dissuaded my unkle pri-  
vately; and urged, that seeing wee had profited the ad-  
venturers nothing, wee should endeavour to preserve our  
principall, especially having men and victualls. But seeing  
I prevayled not, I went further, and offered to finde out in  
the same shippe and others, so many men, as with me  
would be content to carry her home, giving us the third  
part of the value of the ship, as shee should be valued at,  
at her returne, by foure indifferent persons; and to leave  
the vice-admirall which I had under my charge, and to  
make her vice-admirall.

Whereupon, it was condescended that we should all goe  
aboard the shippe, and that there it should be determined.  
The captaine thought himselfe somewhat touched in re-  
putation, and so would not that further triall should be  
made of the matter: saying, that if another man was able  
to carry the shippe into England, he would in no case leave  
her; neither would he forsake her till shee sunke under  
him.

The generall commended him for his resolution, and  
thanked me for my offer, tending to the generall good; my  
intention being to force those who for gaine could under-  
take to carry her home, should also do it gratis, according  
to their obligation. Thus, this the leake-ship went well into  
England; where after shee made many a good voyage in  
nine yeares, wherein shee was imployed to and fro; and no  
doubt would have served many more, had shee not beene  
laid up and not used, falling into the hands of those which  
knew not the use of shipping. It were large to recount  
the voyages and worthy enterprises overthrowne by this  
pollicie, with the shippes which have thereby gone to  
wracke.

## SECTION XXXVI.

xxxvi.
to
1
of
.
 By this and the like experiences, remembring and knowing that if once I consented to turne but one foote backe, I should overthrow my voyage, and loose my reputation, I resolved rather to loose my life, than to give eare to such prejudiciall counsell. And so as the weather gave leave, we entertained our selves the first dayes in necessary workes, and after in making of coale (for wood was plentifull, and no man would commence an action of wast against us), with intent, the wind continuing long contrary, to see if wee could remedie any of our broken anchors ; a forge I had in my shippe, and of five anchors which we brought out of England, there remained but one that was serviceable.

In the ilands of Pengwins we lost one ; in Crabbe cove, another ; of a third, upon another occasion we broke an arme ; and the fourth, on the rocke had the eye of his ring broken. This, one day devising with my selfe, I made to serve, without working him a new. Which when I tooke first in hand, all men thought it ridiculous ; but in fine, we made it in that manner so serviceable, as till our ship came to Callao, which is the port of Lima, shee scarce used any other anchor ; and when I came from Lyma to Panama, which was three yeares after, I saw it serve the admirall in which I came (a ship of above five hundredth tunnes), without other art or addition, then what my owne invention contrived.

ind-
n un-
able
.
 And for that in the like necessitie or occasion, others may profit themselves of the industrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire or iron. It was in this sort.

From the eye of the shanke about the head of the crosse, we gave two turnes with a new strong halser, betwixt three and foure inches, giving a reasonable allowance for that

which should be the eye, and served in stead of the ring; Sect. xxxv  
 then we fastned the two ends of the halser, so as in that  
 part it was as strong as in any other, and with our capsten  
 stretched the two byghtes, that every part might bear pro-  
 portionably; then armed we all the halser round about with  
 six yarne synnets, and likewise the shank of the anchor,  
 and the head with a smooth matt made of the same syn-  
 net: this done, with an inch rope, wee woolled the two  
 byghtes to the shanke, from the crosse to the eye, and that  
 also which was to serve for the ring, and fitted the stocke  
 accordingly. This done, those who before derided the in-  
 vention, were of opinion, that it would serve for a need;  
 onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of  
 the anchor in hard ground, with his waight he would cut  
 the halser in sunder on the head; for prevention whereof,  
 we placed a panch, as the mariners terme it, upon the head  
 of the anchor, with whose softnesse this danger was pre-  
 vented, and the anchor past for serviceable.<sup>1</sup>

Some of our idle time we spent in gathering the barke Entertain-  
ment of  
time to  
avoyd idle  
nesse,  
 and fruite of a certaine tree, which we found in all places  
 of the straites where we found trees. This tree carrieth  
 his fruite in clusters like a hawthorne, but that it is greene,  
 each berry of the bignesse of a pepper corne, and every of  
 them containing within four or five graynes, twise as bigge  
 as a mustard-seed, which broken, are white within, as the  
 good pepper, and bite much like it, but hotter. The barke  
 of this tree hath the savour of all kinde of spices together,  
 most comfortable to the stomache, and held to be better  
 than any spice whatsoever. And for that a learned coun-  
 try-man of ours, Doctor Turner, hath written of it, by the  
 name of *Winters barke*, which I have said may suffice. The in gather-  
ing of Wir-  
ters barke

<sup>1</sup> Synnet is plait made from rope yarns. Wooling or woolding is per-  
 formed by passing turns of rope round a spar or rope, either for strength,  
 or, as in this case, to prevent chafe; if spun yarn is used, it is called  
 serving.



xxv. leafe of this tree is of a whitish greene, and is not unlike to the aspen leafe.<sup>1</sup>

Other whiles we entertained our selves in gathering of pearles out of mussels, whereof there are abundance in all places, from Cape Froward to the end of the straites.

varies. The pearles are but of a bad colour, and small; but it may be that in the great mussels, in deeper water, the pearles are bigger, and of greater value; of the small seed pearle, there are great quantitie, and the mussels were a great refreshing unto us; for they are exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let me crave pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from being a naturalist, by delivering my opinion touching the breeding of these pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West Indies, which are found in oysters; growing in the shell, under the ruff of the oyster, some say of the dewe, which I hold to be some old philosophers conceit, for that it cannot bee made probable how the dew should come into the oyster; and if this were true, then questionlesse, wee should have them in our oysters as in those of the East and West Indies; but those oysters were, by the Creator, made to bring foorth this rare fruite, all their shels being, to looke to, pearle itselfe. And the other pearles found in our oysters and mussels, in divers partes, are ingendred out of the fatnesse of the fish, in the very substance of the fish; so that in some mussels have beene found twenty, and thirty, in severall partes of the fish, and these not perfect in colour, nor clearenes, as those found in the pearle-oysters, which are ever perfect in colour and clearenes, like the sunne in his rising, and therefore called orientall, and not as is supposed, because out

<sup>1</sup> The tree called Winter's bark, *Drimys Winteri*, was discovered by Captain Winter, one of Drake's officers. The bark is agreeably aromatic, and was found useful in cases of scurvy. See also Darwin's *Naturalist's Voyage* (Murray, ed. 1852), pp. 235, 281.

of the East, for they are as well found in the West, and no way inferior to those of the East Indies. Sect. xxxv

Other fish, besides seales and crabbes, like shrimpes, and one whale, with two or three porpusses, wee saw not in all the straites. Heere we made also a survey of our victuals; and opening certaine barrels of oaten meale, wee found a great part of some of them, as also of our pipes and fatts<sup>1</sup> of bread, eaten and consumed by the ratts; doubtlesse, a fifth part of my company did not eate so much as these devoured, as wee found dayly in comming to spend any of our provisions.

When I came to the sea, it was not suspected that I had a ratt in my shippe; but with the bread in caske, which we transported out of the *Hawke*, and the going to and againe of our boates unto our prise, though we had diverse cattis and used other preventions, in a small time they multiplied in such a maner as is incredible. It is one of the generall calamities of all long voyages, and would bee carefully prevented as much as may bee. For besides that which they consume of the best victuals, they eate the sayles; and neither packe nor chest is free from their surprises. I have knowne them to make a hole in a pipe of water, and saying the pumpe, have put all in feare, doubting least some leake had beene sprung upon the ship. Prevention  
of ratts.  
  
The calamities they  
bring to a  
ship.

Moreover, I have heard credible persons report, that shippes have beene put in danger by them to be sunke, by a hole made in the bulge.<sup>2</sup> All which is easily remedied at the first, but if once they be somewhat increased, with difficulty they are to be destroyed. And although I propounded a reward for every ratt which was taken, and sought meanes

<sup>1</sup> Used for vats.

<sup>2</sup> The devastation caused by rats is very great. We have, however, never heard of their gnawing through the bottom. Indeed, if there be any truth in the old sailor's superstition that rats always leave a vessel when in a dangerous state, they must be too clever to try so dangerous an experiment.

Sect. xxxvii by poyson and other inventions to consume them ; yet their increase being so ordinary and many, wee were not able to cleare our selves from them.

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SECTION XXXVII.

At the end of fourteene dayes, one evening, being calme, and a goodly cleare in the easter-boord, I willed our anchor to be weyed,<sup>1</sup> and determined to goe into the channell, whereof ensued a murmuring amongst my company, who were desirous to see the winde settled before we put out of the harbour : and in part they had reason, considering how wee had beene canvassed from place to place ; yet on the other side, if wee went not out before night, wee should loose the whole nights sayling, and all the time which we should spend in warping out ; which would be, doubtles, a great part of the fore-noone. And although the master signified unto mee the disposition of my people, and master Henry Courton (a discrete and vertuous gentleman, and my good friend, who in all the voyage was ever an especial furtherer of all that ever I ordained or proposed), in this occasion sought to divert me, that all but my selfe were contrarily inclined to that which I thought fit : and though the common saying be, that it is better to erre with many, then, all contradicting, a one to hit the right way, yet truth tolde mee this proverbe to bee falsely founded ; for that it was not to bee understood, that for erring it is better, but because it is supposed that by hitting a man shall get emulation of the contradictors : I encountered it with another, that sayeth, better to be envied than pittied ; and well con-

Backward-  
ness in the  
company.

and the con-  
sequences  
thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Much discussion has arisen as to whether this should be written *way*, or *weigh*. We think the correct phraseology is this : when the anchor is *weighed*, the ship is under *way*.

sidering, that being out of the harbour, if the winde took Sec. XXXVIII  
 us contrary, to goe to Elizabeth bay was better then to bee  
 in the port; for a man must of force warpe in and out of  
 it, and in the time that the shippe could be brought forth  
 into the channell, the winde being good, a man might come  
 from Elizabeth bay to the port, and that there we should  
 have the wind first, being more to the east-wardes, and in  
 an open bay, and moreover might set sayle in the night,  
 if the wind should rise in the evening or in the night;  
 whereas, in the port, of force, we must waite the light of  
 the day. I made my selfe deafe to all murmurings, and  
 caused my commaund to be put in execution, and, doubt-  
 lesse, it was Gods gracious inspiration, as by the event was  
 scene; for being gotten into the channell, within an houre,  
 the winde came good, and we sayled merrily on our voyage;  
 and by the breake of the day, wee had the mouth of the  
 straites open, and about foure of the clocke in the after-  
 noone, wee were thwart of Cape Desire;<sup>1</sup> which is the  
 westermost part of the land on the southern side of the  
 straites.

## SECTION XXXVIII.

HERE such as have command may behold the many miseries Advertise-  
ments for  
command-  
ers.  
 that befall them, not onely by unexpected accidents and  
 mischances, but also by contradictions and murmurs of  
 their owne people, of all calamities the greatest which can  
 befall a man of discretion and valour, and as difficult to be  
 overcome; for, to require reason of the common sort, is, as  
 the philosopher sayth, to seeke counsell of a madd man.  
 Herein, as I sayd before, they resemble a stiff necked

<sup>1</sup> Now called Cape Pillar—on the modern charts Cape Deseado lies to  
 the south of it. Cape Pillar is in 52° 42' 53" S.

**Sect. XXXIX.** horse, who taking the bridle in his teeth, carrieth the rider whether he pleaseth ; so once possessed with any imagination, no reason is able to convince them. The best remedie I can propound, is to wish our nation in this poynt to be well advised, and in especiall, all those that follow the sea, ever having before their eyes the auncient discipline of our predecessors ; who in conformitie and obedience to their chieffes and commanders, have beene a mirror to all other nations, with patience, silence, and suffering, putting in execution what they have beene commanded, and thereby gained the blessings due to such vertues, and leaving to posteritie perpetuall memories of their glorious victories. A just recompence for all such as conquer themselves, and subject their most specious willes to the will of their superiors.

The advantage of obedience.

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SECTION XXXIX.

In apprehension whereof at land, I cannot forebeare the discipline thereof, as at this day, and in the dayes of late memory, it hath beene practised in the states of Flaunders, Fraunce, and Brittainne ; whereas the Spaniards, Wallons, Switzers, and other nations, are daily full of murmurings and mutenies, upon every sleight occasion.

The like I also wish should be imitated by those who follow the sea ; that is, that those who are subject to command, presume no further then to that which belongeth unto them : *Qui nescit parere, nescit imperare*. I speake this, for that I have sometimes seene unexpert and ignorant persons, yea, unable to judge of any poynt appertaining to government, or the guide of a shippe, or company of men, presuming upon their fine witts, and enamoured of their owne conceits, contradict and dispute against grave, wise, and experimented governours : many forward fellowes,

thinking themselves better worthie to command, than to be commanded. Such persons I advise not to goe, but where they may command; or els looking before they leape, to consider well under whom they place themselves, seeing, for the most part, it is in their choyce to choose a governour from whom they may expect satisfaction; but choyce being once made, to resolve with the patient wife in history, that, that day wherein shee married herselfe to an husband, that very day shee had no longer any will more then the will of her husband: and so he that by sea or land placeth himselfe to serve in any action, must make reckoning that the time the journey endureth, he hath no other will, nor dispose of himselfe, than that of his commander; for in the governors hand is all power, to recompence and reward, to punish or forgive.

Sect. xxxix.  
Advertisements for  
young ser-  
vitors.

Likewise those who have charge and command, must sometimes with patience or sufferance overcome their fury and misconceits, according to occasions, for it is a great poynt of wisdom, especially in a generall murmuring, where the cause is just, or that, as often times it happeneth, any probable accident may divert the minds of the discontented, and give hope of remedie, or future event may produce repentance, to turne, as they say, the deafe eare, and to winke at that a man seeth. As it is sayde of Charles the fifth, emperour of Germany, and king of Spaine; who rounding his campe, one night, disguised, heard some souldiers rayle and speak evil of him: those which accompanied him were of opinion, that he should use some exemplary punishment upon them; not so, sayth he, for these, now vexed with the miseries they suffer, ease their hearts with their tongues; but if occasion present it selfe, they will not sticke to sacrifice their lives for my safetie. A resolution worthy so prudent a commander, and so magnanimous a prince.

The like is written of Fabius Maximus, the famous

SECT. III. lie a great way off into the sea, but the wind took us contrary by the north-west ; and so we stood off into the sea two dayes and two nights to the west-wards.

In all the straites it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places it higheth very little water ; but in some bayes, where are great indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foote, and doubtlesse further in, more. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, he may keepe the mayne sea, and goe round about the straites to the southwards, and it is the shorter way ; for besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the straites is but ilands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having shott the straites, a storme first tooke him at north-west, and after vered about to the south-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees ;<sup>1</sup> which was sufficient testimony and prooffe, that he was beaten round about the straites : for the least height of the straites is in fifty two degrees and fiftie minutes ; in which stands the two entrances or mouths.

South part  
of the  
Straits  
ilands.

Sir Francis  
Drake an-  
chored in the  
southern-  
most point  
of the  
world.

And moreover, he said, that standing about, when the winde changed, he was not well able to double the southermost iland, and so anchored under the lee of it ; and going a-shore, carried a compasse with him, and seeking out the southermost part of the iland, caste himselfe downe upon the uttermost poynt, grovelling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he embarked, and then recounted unto his people that he had beene upon the southermost knowne land in the world, and more further to the southwards upon it then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all, but such as are incredulous, and will beleeve nothing

<sup>1</sup> This must be a misprint : it should be perhaps 56°.

sayle, till it had burned a hole in the nose as bigge as a mans head; the arrow falling out, and driving alongs by the shippes side, made us doubt of it, which after we discovered.

## SECTION XL

IN many occasions, notwithstanding, it is most prejudicial to dissemble the reprehension and punishment of mutterings and mutterings, when they carry a likelihood to grow to a mutinie, seeme to leane to a faction, or that a person of regard or merite favoureth the intention, is contrary to the justice, etc., and others of like qualitie. The prudent governour is to cut off this hydra's head in the beginning, and by prevention to provide remedie with expedition; and this sometimes with absolute authoritie, although the best be ever to proceed by counsell, if necessary and occasion require not the contrary; for passion many times overruleth, but that which is sentenced and executed by consent, is justified, although sometimes erroneous. March 29, 1594.

## SECTION XLI

FROM Cape Desire, some foure leagues north-west lye foure ilands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a sugar-loafe. We were no sooner cleare of Cape Desire, and his ledge of rocks, which

<sup>1</sup> The above observations appear to have occurred to our author in consequence of what had taken place during the voyages of Magalhães and Drake. Both these great commanders, while lying at Port Saint Julian, tried for mutiny, and executed some of their chief officers.



**Sect. XLII.** lie a great way off into the sea, but the wind took us contrary by the north-west; and so we stood off into the sea two dayes and two nights to the west-wards.

In all the straites it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places it higheth very little water; but in some bayes, where are great indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foote, and doubtlesse further in, more. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, he may keepe the mayne sea, and goe round about the straites to the southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the straites is but ilands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having shott the straites, a storme first tooke him at north-west, and after vered about to the south-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees;<sup>1</sup> which was sufficient testimony and prooffe, that he was beaten round about the straites: for the least height of the straites is in fifty two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which stands the two entrances or mouths.

South part  
of the  
Straits  
ilands.

Sir Francis  
Drake em-  
braceh the  
souther-  
most point  
of the  
world.

And moreover, he said, that standing about, when the winde changed, he was not well able to double the southermost iland, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going a-shore, carried a compasse with him, and seeking out the southermost part of the iland, caste himselfe downe upon the uttermost poynt, grovelling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he embarked, and then recounted unto his people that he had beene upon the southermost knowne land in the world, and more further to the southwards upon it then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all, but such as are incredulous, and will beleieve nothing

<sup>1</sup> This must be a misprint; it should be perhaps 56°.

but what they see : for my part, I am of opinion, that the strait is navigable all the yeare long, although the best time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow seas.<sup>1</sup>

Sect. XL

Being some fiftie leagues a sea-boord the straites, the winde vering to the west-wards, we cast about to the north-wards, and lying the coast along, shaped our course for the iland Mocha. About the fifteenth of April, we were thwart of Baldivia, which was then in the hands of the Spaniards, but since, the Indians, in anno 1599, dispossessed them of it, and the Conception ; which are two of the most principall places they had in that kingdome, and both ports.

Baldivia had its name of a Spanish captaine so called, whom afterwards the Indians tooke prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why he came to molest them and to take their country from them, having no title nor right thereunto ; he answered, to get gold ; which the barbarians understanding, caused gold to be molten, and poured down his throat, saying, gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information respecting these straits will be found in the voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*. Now that the labours of King and Fitz Roy, and more recently of Mayne, have provided correct charts, the road is well known.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro de Valdivia was the first Governor of Chile, after the transitory invasion of Almagro. He overran the whole country, and founded seven cities : Coquimbo, Santiago, Angol, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago. He founded Santiago on February 24th, 1541. Then the Araucanians rose in arms, and Valdivia seems to have carelessly underrated the danger. The mode of his death related by Hawkins, is fabulous. For the true account, see *Araucana*, Part I, Canto 111 ; and G. de la Vega, *Comm. Real.*, Part I, Lib. vii, cap. 23. The rising took place in 1553, and continued for many years. The most fierce outbreak was in 1599. The city of Valdivia was surprised on November 24th of that year, and entirely destroyed.

Sect. XII.

lamskinnes;<sup>1</sup> the caciques seeing it, began to give me satisfaction by using rigor towards those which had beene in the boates; but I having gotten the refreshing I desired, and all I could hope from them, would have no further conversation with them. At our first comming, two of their caciques, who are their lords or kings, came aboard our shippe (we leaving one of our company ashore as a pledge), whom we feasted in good manner; they eat well of all that was set before them, and dranke better of our wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvayled much at our artillery: I caused a peece to be primed, and after to be shott off, whereat the one started, but the other made no shew of alteration. After putting them ashore, loaden with toyes and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all parts of the iland the people came unto us, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, cockes, etc. (from hennes they would not part), and divers sorts of fruits and rootes, which they exchanged with us for knives, glasses, combes, belles, beades, counters, pinnes, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of gold or silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gave us to understand that they had it from the mayne.

Exchanges  
of trifles.

Of sheepe.

The sheepe of this iland are great, good, and fatt; I have not tasted better mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those which the Spaniards brought into the country. Of the sheepe of the country we could by no means procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them; for they esteem them much, as reason willeth, serving them for many uses; as in another place, God willing, I shall declare more at large. They have small store of fish.

<sup>1</sup> *To lamm* is used by Beaumont and Fletcher in the sense of *beat-bruise*.

They are clothed after the manner of antiquity, all of woollen; their cassocks made like a tunic square with two holes for the two arms, and one for the head at the top below, without lining or other art: but of these some are most curiously woven, and in colour, and in their sides alike.

They brought us a strange kind of bread, and the little cakes, like pitch, of a dark brown with holes in the middle, and so hard that it was a long time before we could get them to melt. They also presented us with two Spanish dogs, looking like the Spaniards, which were written in a language that some days before we had not been able to read with our hands, and signified that the king of the land was very friendly to the king, and that therefore he would be very kind to his favour and protection and would not allow the governor to do anything to hurt him. The king then dealt with them by giving them some of the best of all Chily. One of your names was written on the counterpane that was under the king's head, and on the parts. They are of great importance, and are of great strength. Their names are very long and hard to write, and their names are very long and hard to write.

The Bureau has been instructed to be prepared to write any letter to the State Department in the event the Bureau is not able to handle a case of this kind.

16.

## Sect. XLI.

lamskinnes;<sup>1</sup> the caciques seeing it, began to give me satisfaction by using rigor towards those which had been in the boates; but I having gotten the refreshing I desired, and all I could hope from them, would have no further conversation with them. At our first coming, two of their caciques, who are their lords or kings, came aboard our shippe (we leaving one of our company ashore as a pledge), whom we feasted in good manner; they eat well of all that was set before them, and dranke better of our wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvayled much at our artillery: I caused a peece to be primed, and after to be shott off, whereat the one started, but the other made no shew of alteration. After putting them ashore, loaden with toyes and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all parts of the iland the people came unto us, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, cockes, etc. (from hennes they would not part), and divers sorts of fruits and rootes, which they exchanged with us for knives, glasses, combes, belles, beades, counters, pinnes, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of gold or silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gave us to understand that they had it from the mayne.

Exchanges  
of trifles.

Of sheepe. The sheepe of this iland are great, good, and fatt; I have not tasted better mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those which the Spaniards brought into the country. Of the sheepe of the country we could by no means procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them; for they esteem them much, as reason willeth, serving them for many uses; as in another place, God willing, I shall declare more at large. They have small store of fish.

<sup>1</sup> *To lamm* is used by Beaumont and Fletcher in the sense of *beat-bruise*.

wine, two or three thousand of hennes, and some refreshing of bread, bacon, dried beefe, waxe, candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was plankes, spares, and timber, for Lyma, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no timber but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packes of Indian mantles, but of no value unto us, with much tallow, and manteca de puerco,<sup>1</sup> and abundance of great new chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but apples therein; all which was good marchandize in Lyma, but to us of small accompt. The marchandize on shore in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the shippes gave us to understand that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their shippes and loading, which I hearkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded but that there was much gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yeilded us more then the other three.

Sect. XLII.

And the  
ware-  
houses.

Being in this treatie, one morning at the breake of day came another shippe touring into the harbour, and standing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her we manned a couple of boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this shippe we had some good quantitie of gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this shippe was pilot and part owner, Alonso Perezbueno, whom we kept for our pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children), we set him ashore betwixt Santa and Truxillo.<sup>2</sup> Out of this shippe

They also  
upon an-  
other ship,and some  
gold.<sup>1</sup> Lard.<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Peru, north of Lima

t. XLII. rowes of a short reed or cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two feathers, and headed with a flint stone, which is loose and hurting, the head remaining in the wound; some are headed with bone, and some with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. Wee came betwixt the iland and the mayne. On the south-west part of the iland lyeth a great ledge of rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to be carefull how to come too neere the iland on all parts.

ir hate  
a  
niards. Immediately when they discovered us, both upon the iland and the maine, wee might see them make sundry great fires, which were to give advise to the rest of the people to be in a readinesse: for they have continuall and mortall warre with the Spaniards, and the shippes they see they beleve to be their enemies.<sup>1</sup> The citie imperiall lyeth over against this iland, but eight or tenne leagues into the countrey: for all the sea coast from Baldivia till thirty-six degrees, the Indians have now, in a manner, in their hands free from any Spaniards.

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SECTION XLII.

HAVING refreshed our selves well in this iland, for that little time wee stayod, which was some three dayes, wee set sayle with great joy, and with a fayre winde sayled alongst the coast; and some eight leagues to the northwards, we anchored againe in a goodly bay, and sent our boates ashore, with desire to speake with some of the Indians of Arawca, and to see if they would be content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with us. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one person,

<sup>1</sup> In 1604, the Araucans entirely destroyed the Spanish towns of Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion.

and so wee set sayle againe; and towardes the evening the winde began to change, and to blowe contrary, and that so much, and the sea to rise so sodainely, that we could not take in our boates without spoyling of them. This storme continued with us tenne dayes, beyond expectation, for that wee thought our selves out of the climate of fowle weather; but truely it was one of the sharpest stormes that ever I felt to endure so long.

Sect. XL.

A cruel storme.

In this storme, one night haling up our boates to free the water out of them, one of our youngers that went into them for that purpose, had not that regard, which reason required, unto our light horseman: for with haling her up to step into her out of the boate, he split her asunder, and so we were forced to cut her off; which was no small heartes grief unto me, for that I knew, and all my company felt, and many times lamented, the losse of her.

The important losse a small vessell.

The storme tooke end, and wee shaped our course for the iland of Saint Maries,<sup>1</sup> which lyeth in thirty seaven degrees and forty minuts; and before you come unto the iland some two leagues, in the trade way lyeth a rocke, which, a farre off, seemeth to be a shippe under sayle. This iland is little and low, but fertile and well peopled, with Indians and some few Spaniards in it. Some ten leagues to the north-wards of this iland, lyeth the citty Conception, with a good port; from this we coasted alongst till wee came in thirty-three degrees and forty minutes. In which height lay the ilands of Iuan Fernandes, betwixt threescore and fourscore leagues from the shore, plentiful of fish, and good for refreshing. I purposed for many reasons not to discover my selfe upon this coast, till we were past Lyma (otherwise called Cividat de Los Reyes, for that it was entered by the Spaniard the day of the three kings);<sup>2</sup> but

Saint Maries.

Citty of Conception.

Iuan Fernandes.

Good to avoid discovery.

<sup>1</sup> Santa Maria Island, off the coast of Chile, is comparatively low and dangerous, on account of numerous outlying rocks.

<sup>2</sup> Lima was founded by Pizarro on Epiphany, January 18th, 1535, and hence called the City of the Kings.



Sec. III my company urged me so farre, that except I should seem in all things to over-beare them, in not condescending to that which in the opinion of all, but my selfe, seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeelde unto, though it carried a false colour, as the ende proved, for it was our perdition. This all my company knoweth to be true, whereof some are yet living and can give testimonie.

Witness  
of many.

They were  
spies from  
Spain.

But the mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment hee loseth his voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedines of spoyle, onely hoped for in shippes of trade, which goe too and fro in this coast, blinded them from forecasting the perill whereinto wee exposed our voyage, in discovering our selves before we past the coast of Callao, which is the port of Lyma. To be short, wee hailed the coast aboard, and that evening we discovered the port of Balparizo,<sup>1</sup> which serveth the citty of Saint Iago, standing some twenty leagues into the countrey: when presently we descried foure shippes at an anchor: whereupon wee manned and armed our boate, which rowed towards the shippes: they seeing us turning in, and fearing that which was, ran a shore with that little they could save, and left us the rest: whereof we were masters in a moment, and had the riding of all the storehouses on the shore.

This night I set a good guard in all the shippes, longing to see the light of the next morning to put all things in order: which appearing, I began to survey them, and found nothing of moment, saving five hundred botozios<sup>2</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Valparaiso, the chief port of Chile, received its name from Juan de Saavedra, a follower of Almagro, after his own native village of Valparaiso near Cuenca, in Spain. On September 3rd, 1544, Valdivia confirmed the name given by Saavedra.

<sup>2</sup> Boto is Spanish for a wine-skin or vessel: *boto*, a jar used for the same purpose.

wine, two or three thousand of hennes, and some refreshing of bread, bacon, dried beefe, waxe, candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was plankes, spares, and timber, for Lyra, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no timber but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packes of Indian mantles, but of no value unto us, with much tallow, and manteca de puerco,<sup>1</sup> and abundance of great new chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but apples therein; all which was good marchandize in Lyra, but to us of small accompt. The marchandize on shore in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the shippes gave us to understand that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their shippes and loading, which I hearkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded but that there was much gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yeelded us more then the other three.

Sect. XII

And the ware-houses.

Being in this treatie, one morning at the breake of day came another shippe touring into the harbour, and standing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her wee manned a couple of boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this shippe we had some good quantitie of gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this shippe was pilot and part owner, Alonso Perezbuena, whom we kept for our pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children), we set him ashore betwixt Santa and Truxillo.<sup>2</sup> Out of this shippe

They seized upon another ship

and some gold.

<sup>1</sup> Lard.<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Peru, north of Lima.

Sect. XLII. lie a great way off into the sea, but the wind took us contrary by the north-west ; and so we stood off into the sea two dayes and two nights to the west-wards.

In all the straites it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places it higheth very little water ; but in some bayes, where are great indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foote, and doubtlesse further in, more. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, he may keepe the mayne sea, and goe round about the straites to the southwards, and it is the shorter way ; for besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the straites is but ilands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having shott the straites, a storme first tooke him at north-west, and after vered about to the south-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees ;<sup>1</sup> which was sufficient testimony and prooffe, that he was beaten round about the straites : for the least height of the straites is in fifty two degrees and fiftie minutes ; in which stands the two entrances or mouths.

South part  
of the  
Straits  
ilands.

And moreover, he said, that standing about, when the winde changed, he was not well able to double the southermost iland, and so anchored under the lee of it ; and going a-shore, carried a compasse with him, and seeking out the southermost part of the iland, caste himselfe downe upon the uttermost poynt, grovelling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted unto his people that he had beene upon the southermost knowne land in the world, and more further to the southwards upon it then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all, but such as are incredulous, and will beleieve nothing

Sir Francis  
Drake em-  
braceh the  
souther-  
most point  
of the  
world.

<sup>1</sup> This must be a misprint ; it should be perhaps 56°.

but what they see: for my part, I am of opinion, that the strait is navigable all the year long, although the best time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow seas.<sup>1</sup>

Sect. xli.

Being some fiftie leagues a sea-boord the straites, the winde vering to the west-wards, we cast about to the north-wards, and lying the coast along, shaped our course for the iland Mocha. About the fifteenth of April, we were thwart of Baldivia, which was then in the hands of the Spaniards, but since, the Indians, in anno 1599, dispossessed them of it, and the Conception; which are two of the most principall places they had in that kingdome, and both ports.

Mocha.

Baldivia.

Baldivia had its name of a Spanish captaine so called, whom afterwards the Indians tooke prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why he came to molest them and to take their country from them, having no title nor right thereunto; he answered, to get gold; which the barbarians understanding, caused gold to be molten, and poured down his throat, saying, gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information respecting these straits will be found in the voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*. Now that the labours of King and Fitz Roy, and more recently of Mayne, have provided correct charts, the road is well known.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro de Valdivia was the first Governor of Chile, after the transitory invasion of Almagro. He overran the whole country, and founded seven cities: Coquimbo, Santiago, Angol, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago. He founded Santiago on February 24th, 1541. Then the Araucanians rose in arms, and Valdivia seems to have carelessly underrated the danger. The mode of his death related by Hawkins, is fabulous. For the true account, see *Araucana*, Part I, Canto 111; and G. de la Vega, *Comm. Real.*, Part I, Lib. vii, cap. 23. The rising took place in 1553, and continued for many years. The most fierce outbreak was in 1599. The city of Valdivia was surprised on November 24th of that year, and entirely destroyed.

Sect. XL.

It standeth in fortie degrees, hath a pleasant river and navigable, for a ship of good burden may goe as high up as the cittie; and is a goodly woody country.

Here our beefe beganne to take end, and was then as good as the day wee departeth from England; it was preserved in pickell; which, though it be more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made more durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible that beefe should be kept good passing the equinoctiall lyne. And of our porke I eate in the house of Don Beltran de Castro, in Lyma, neere foure yeares old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding it had lost his pickell long before.

Some degrees before a man comes to Baldivia to the southwards, as Spaniards have told me, lyeth the iland Chule,<sup>1</sup> not easily to be discerned from the mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to be the mayne. It is said to be inhabited by the Spaniards, but badly, yet rich of gold.

The 19th of April, being Easter-even, we anchored under the iland Mocha.<sup>2</sup> It lyeth in thirty-nine degrees, it may be some foure leagues over, and is a high mountainous hill, but round about the foote thereof, some half league from the sea-shore, it is champion ground, well inhabited, and manured.

From the straites to this iland, we found that either the coast is set out more westerly then it is, or that we had a great current, which put us to the west-wards: for we had not sight of land in three dayes after. Our reckoning was to see it, but for that we coasted not the land, I cannot de-

<sup>1</sup> Chiloe.

<sup>2</sup> A lofty island on the coast of Chile. Its summit is 1250 feet above the sea. Previous to the eighteenth century it was inhabited by Araucanian Indians, but they are driven out by the Spaniards. The anchorages were indifferent, and the landing bad. Mocha is about seven miles long by three broad, between 38° 20' and 38° 26' S.

termine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the land. But Spaniards which have sayled alongst it, have told me that it is a bold and safe coast, and reasonable sounding off it. Sect. 11

In this iland of Mocha we had communication and contratation<sup>1</sup> with the inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of Chily are mortall enemies to the Spaniards, and held us to be of them; and so esteemed Sir Francis Drake when he was in this iland, which was the first land also that he touched on this coast. They used him with so fine a trechery, that they possessed themselves of all the oares in his boate, saving two, and in striving to get them also, they slew and hurt all his men: himselfe, who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one seaveuteene (his name was John Bruer, who afterward was pilot with master Candish), and the other about twentie, a negroe-servant to Sir Francis Drake.

And with me they used a pollicie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treat with me nor with my people with armes. We were armed, and met upon a rock compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the caciques and others, many of the Indians came to the heads of our boates, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the boates with their oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their musketts; which the Indians perceiving, endevoynred to fill the barrells with water, taking it out of the sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye discovered their slynesse, and with a truncheon had in mine hand, gave the Indians three

Trechery  
the Indian

<sup>1</sup> *Contractation*—commerce or dealings w

Sect. XII.

lamskinnes;<sup>1</sup> the caciques seeing it, began to give me satisfaction by using rigor towards those which had beene in the boates; but I having gotten the refreshing I desired, and all I could hope from them, would have no further conversation with them. At our first comming, two of their caciques, who are their lords or kings, came aboard our shippe (we leaving one of our company ashore as a pledge), whom we feasted in good manner; they eat well of all that was set before them, and dranke better of our wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvayled much at our artillery: I caused a peece to be primed, and after to be shott off, whereat the one started, but the other made no shew of alteration. After putting them ashore, loaden with toyes and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all parts of the iland the people came unto us, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, cockes, etc. (from hennes they would not part), and divers sorts of fruits and rootes, which they exchanged with us for knives, glasses, combes, belles, beades, counters, pinnes, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of gold or silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gave us to understand that they had it from the mayne.

Exchanges  
of trifles.

Of sheepe.

The sheepe of this iland are great, good, and fatt; I have not tasted better mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those which the Spaniards brought into the country. Of the sheepe of the country we could by no means procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them; for they esteem them much, as reason willeth, serving them for many uses; as in another place, God willing, I shall declare more at large. They have small store of fish.

<sup>1</sup> The word is used by Beaumont and Fletcher in the sense of *beat-*

This iland is scituate in the province of Arawca,<sup>1</sup> and is Sect. 221.  
held to be peopled with the most valiant nation in all Chily,  
though generally the inhabitants of that kingdome are  
very couragious.

They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of Their  
apparel.  
woollen; their cassockes made like a sacke, square, with  
two holes for the two armes, and one for the head, all open  
below, without lining or other art: but of them some are  
most curiously wooven, and in colours, and on both sides  
alike.

Their houses are made round, in fashion like unto our and  
burning.  
pigeon houses, with a laver<sup>2</sup> in the toppe, to evacuate the  
smoake when they made fire.

They brought us a strange kinde of tobacco, made into  
little cakes, like pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through  
the middle, and so laced many upon a string. They pre-  
sented us also with two Spanish letters, thinking us to be  
Spaniards, which were written by a captaine of a frigate,  
that some dayes before had received courtesie at their  
hands, and signified the same to the governour; wishing  
that the people of the iland would become good subjects to  
the king, and that therefore he would receive them into  
his favour and protection, and send them some person as  
governour; but none of them spake Spanish, and so we  
dealt with them by signes. The people of this iland, as of  
People of  
Chily.  
all Chily,<sup>3</sup> are of good stature, and well made, and of better  
countenance then those Indians which I have scene in many  
parts. They are of good understanding, and agilitie, and  
of great strength. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, Their  
weapons.  
and macanas: their bowes short and strong, and their ar-

<sup>1</sup> The Araucans have been immortalised in the *Araucana*, a poem written by Don Alonso de Ercilla. The first part was printed in 1569, the second in 1578. The best edition is that of Sancha (Madrid, 1776).

<sup>2</sup> This word is perhaps derived from *lave*, to draw out, to exhaust.

<sup>3</sup> Chile.



Sect. XLVIII.

The amity  
of the  
Indians.

all places where wee came, they showed themselves much affectionated unto us: these were natives of Moremoreno, and the most brutish of all that ever I had scene; and except it were in forme of men and speech, they seemed altogether voyde of that which appertained to reasonable men. They were expert swimmers; but after the manner of spaniels, they dive and abide under water a long time, and swallow the water of the sea as if it were of a fresh river. Except a man see them, he would hardly beleieve how they continue in the sea, as if they were mer-maides, and the water their naturall element.

Their countrey is most barren, and poore of food. If they take a fish alive out of the sea, or meete with a peece of salted fish, they will devoure it without any dressing, as savourelly as if had beene most curiously sodden or dressed, all which makes me beleieve that they sustaine themselves of that which they catch in the sea.

The Spaniards profit themselves of their labour and travell, and recompense them badly: they are in worse condition then their slaves, for to those they give sustenance, house-roume, and clothing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they use as beastes, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies or soules.

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SECTION XLVIII.

THWART of Ariquepa,<sup>1</sup> the shippe we brought with us from Balparizo being very leake, and my companie satisfied that their hope to find any thing of worth in her was vaine, having searched her from post to stemme, condescended to

<sup>1</sup> Ariquepa is ninety miles inland. In those days Quilca was the port of Ariquepa.

wine, two or three thousand of hennes, and some refreshing of bread, bacon, dried beefe, waxe, candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was plankes, spares, and timber, for Lyma, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no timber but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packes of Indian mantles, but of no value unto us, with much tallow, and manteca de puerco,<sup>1</sup> and aboundance of great new chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but apples therein; all which was good marchandize in Lyma, but to us of small accompt. The marchandize on shore in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the shippes gave us to understand that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their shippes and loading, which I hearkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded but that there was much gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yeilded us more then the other three.

Sect. XLII.

And the  
ware-  
houses.

Being in this treatie, one morning at the breake of day came another shippe touring into the harbour, and standing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her wee manned a couple of boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this shippe we had some good quantitie of gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this shippe was pilot and part owner, Alonso Perezbueno, whom we kept for our pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children), we set him ashore betwixt Santa and Truxillo.<sup>2</sup> Out of this shippe

They seize  
upon an-  
other ship,and some  
gold.<sup>1</sup> Lard.<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Peru, north of Lima.

Sect. XLVIII. men, and dispatched them to seeke us, and to fight with us, under the conduct of Don Beltrian de Castro Ydelaluca,<sup>1</sup> his wives brother ; who departing out of the port of Callao, turned to wind-ward in sight over the shore, from whence they had dayly intelligence where wee had beene discovered. And the next day after our departure out of Chilca,<sup>2</sup> about the middle of May, at breake of day, wee had sight of each other, thwart of Cañete,<sup>3</sup> wee being to windwards of the Spanish armado some two leagues, and all with little or no winde. Our pinnace or prise being furnished with oares came unto us, out of which we thought to have taken our men, and so to leave her ; but being able to come unto us at all times, it was held for better to keepe her till necessity forced us to leave her : and so it was determined that if we came to likelihood of boording, shee should lay our boate aboard, and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our shippe, and so to forsake her. Although, by the event in that occasion this proved good, notwithstanding I hold it to bee reproved where the enemy is farre superiour in multitude and force, and able to come and bound if hee list ; and that the surest course is to fortifie the principall the best that may bee, and to cut of all impediments, where a man is forced to defence : for that no man is assured to have time answerable to his purpose and will ; and upon doubt whether the others, in hope to save themselves, will not leave him in greatest extremitie.

<sup>1</sup> Don Beltran de Castro was the second son of Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro Andrada, fifth Count of Lemos, by Leonora de la Cueva, daughter of Don Beltran de la Cueva, third Duke of Albuquerque. His sister Teresa married the Marquis of Cañete. The name "Ydelaluca" in the text is some wild typographical jumble.

<sup>2</sup> Chilca is a little coast valley surrounded by desert, north of Cañete.

<sup>3</sup> Cañete is a fertile valley on the Peruvian coast, between Pisco and Lima ; so named after the Marquis. The native name is Huarco.

## SECTION XLIII.

I CONCLUDED the ransome of the shippes with an auncient <sup>Sect. 21</sup> ~~captaine~~, and of noble blood, who had his daughter there, ready to be imbarked to go to Lyma, to serve Donia Tereza de Castro, the viceroyes wife,<sup>1</sup> and sister to Don Beltran de Castro. Her apparell and his, with divers other things which they had imbarked in the greatest shippe, we restored, for the good office he did us, and the confidence he had of us, comming and going onely upon my word; for which he was after ever thankefull, and deserved much more.

Another that treated with me was Captaine Iuan Contreras, owner of one of the shippes, and of the iland Santa Maria, in thirty-seaven degrees and fortie minutes. In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions we made choyce of, wee spent some sixe or eight dayes; at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges, and our shippe as well stored and victualled as the day we departed from England, we set sayle.

The time wee were in this port, I tooke small rest, and so did the master of our shippe, Hugh Cornish, a most carefull, orderly, and sufficient man, because we knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the harbour, we had but seaventie five men and boyes, five shippes to guard, and every one moored by himselfe; which, no doubt, if our enemies had knowne, they would have wrought some stratagem upon us; for the governour of Chily was there on shore in view of us, an auncient Flanders soldier, and of experience, wisdom, and valour, called Don Alonso de

<sup>They del  
from Ly</sup>

<sup>and con-  
ceale the  
weaknes.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Teresa, daughter of the Count of Lemos, and wife of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Viceroy of Peru from 1590 to 1599.

Sect. XLIX. right to le-wards of us; the reare-admirall in a manner right a head, some culvering shott; and one upon our loofe, within shott also. The moon was to rise within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded that wee should beare up before the winde, and seeke to escape betwixt the admirall and the vice-admirall, which wee put in execution, not knowing of any other disgrace befallen them, but that of the reare-admirall, till after our surrender, when they recounted unto us all that had past. In the morning at breake of day, wee were cleare of all our enemies, and so shaped our course amongst the coast, for the bay of Atacames, where we purposed to trim our pin-nace, and to renue our wood and water, and so to depart upon our voyage with all possible speede.

The Spanish armado returned presently to Callao, which is the port of Lyma, or of the City of the Kings. It was first named Lyma, and retayneth also that name of the river, which passeth by the citty called Lyma. The Spanish armado being entred the port, the people began to goe ashore, where they were so mocked and scorned by the women, as scarce any one by day would shew his face: they reviled them with the name of cowards and golnias, and craved licence of the vice-roy to bee admitted in their roomes, and to undertake the surrendry of the English shippe. I have beene certified for truth, that some of them affronted their souldiers with daggers and pistols by their sides.

This wrought such effects in the hearts of the disgraced, as they vowed eyther to recover their reputation lost, or to follow us into England; and so with expedition, the vice-roy commaunded two shippes and a pinnace to be put in order, and in them placed the chiefe souldiers and marri-ners of the rest, and furnished them with victuals and munition.

The foresayd generall is once againe dispatched to seeke

us; who ranged the coastes and ports, enforming himselfe Sect. XLIX.  
 what hee could. Some fiftie leagues to the northwards of  
 Lyma, in sight of Mongon,<sup>1</sup> wee tooke a shippe halfe  
 loaden with wheate, sugar, miell de canas, and cordovan  
 skins: which for that shee was leake, and sayled badly, and  
 tackled in such maner as the marriners would not willingly  
 put themselves into her, wee tooke what was necessary for  
 our provision, and fired her.

Thwart of Truxillo,<sup>2</sup> we set the companie of her a shore,  
 with the pilot which we had taken in Balparizo, reserving  
 the pilot of the burnt shippe, and a Greeke, who chose  
 rather to continue with us, then to hazard their lives in  
 going a shore; for that they had departed out of the port  
 of Santa,<sup>3</sup> which is in eight degrees, being required by the  
 justice not to weigh anchor before the coast was knewne to  
 be cleere.

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almost incredible,  
 with how few men they use to sayle a shippe in the South  
 sea; for in this prise, which was above an hundred tuns,  
 were but eight persons: and in a shippe of three hundreth  
 tuns, they use not to put above fourteene or fifteene per-  
 sons; yea, I have beene credibly enformed, that with foure-  
 teene persons, a shippe of five hundreth tuns hath beene  
 carried from Guayaquil to Lyma, deepe loaden (which is  
 above two hundreth leagues): and are forced ever to gaine  
 their voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greatest  
 toyle and labour that the marriners have; and slow some-  
 times in this voyage foure or five moneths, which is generall  
 in all the navigations of this coast.<sup>4</sup> But the security from

<sup>1</sup> Cerro Mongon, a high point on the Peruvian coast, north of Lima, between Guarmey and Casma.

<sup>2</sup> Truxillo is some miles inland. Its port is Huanchaco, in 8° 6' S.

<sup>3</sup> A small but good anchorage, south of Truxillo.

<sup>4</sup> The plan pursued at that day was to beat to windward in shore; now, by standing out boldly to the westward, the voyage to the southward, against the prevailing wind, is much shortened.

A new device for stopping a leak without board.

In one of these shippes we found a new devise for the stopping of a sodaine leake in a shippe under water, without board, when a man cannot come to it within board; which eased us of one that we had from the day we departed from Detford, caused by the touching a-ground of our shippe at low water, being loaden and in the neap streames, comming a-ground in the sterne, the force of the tyde caused to cast thwart, wrested her slegg, and that in such sort, as it made a continuall leake, though not much. And for that others may profit themselves of the like, I thinke it good to set downe the manner of it: which was, taking a round wicker basket, and to fill it with peeces of a junke or rype, chopped very small, and of an inch long, and after to fill all as a-cumberd it then the basket is to be covered with a net, the meshes of it being at the least two inches square, and after to be tied to a long pike or pole, which is to be thrustt under the baskets mouth: and putting it under water, it is to be led to keepe the baskets mouth open, and so to stoppe all, if the leake be any thing great. This is a new and somewhat ingenius, and is somewhat like the way that is used by the Dutch, to stoppe the leake of a shippe, which is not

[illegible]

rudder, and they have them to hange and unhang with Sect. xli great facilitie; and besides, in some parts of the shippe they have the length, breadth, and proportion of the rudder marked out, for any mischance that may befall them; which is a very good prevention.<sup>1</sup>

Ten leagues to the north-wards of this harbour, is the bay of Quintera,<sup>2</sup> where is good anchoring, but an open Bay of Quintera. bay; where master Thomas Candish (for the good he had done to a Spaniard, in bringing him out of the Straits of Magellan, where, otherwise, he had perished with his com- Nota verum Hispanum. pany),<sup>3</sup> was by him betrayed, and a dozen of his men taken and slaine. But the judgement of God left not his ingratitude unpunished; for in the fight with us, in the vice-admirall, he was wounded and maymed in that manner, as, three yeares after, I saw him begge with crutches, and in that miserable estate, as he had been better dead than alive.

From Balparizo wee sailed directly to Coquinbo, which Coquinbo. is in thirtie degrees; and comming thwart the place, wee were becalmed, and had sight of a shippe: but for that shée was farre off, and night at hand, shée got from us, and wee having winde, entered the port, thinking to have had some shipping in it; but we lost our labour: and for that the towne was halfe a league upp in the countrey, and wee not manned for any matter of attempt, worthy prosecution, we made no abode on the shore, but presently set sayle for the Peru. This is the best harbour that I have seene in the South sea, it is land-locked for all winds, and capeable of many shippes; but the ordinary place where the shippes lade and unlade, and accommodate themselves, is betwixt a rocke and the mayne on the wester

<sup>1</sup> We owe many good hints to Spanish seamen: this among others is used to this day.

<sup>2</sup> Quintero Bay, near Valparaiso.

<sup>3</sup> This was one of Sarmiento's unfortunate colonists.



Sect. XII.

lamskinnes;<sup>1</sup> the caciques seeing it, began to give me satisfaction by using rigor towards those which had beene in the boates; but I having gotten the refreshing I desired, and all I could hope from them, would have no further conversation with them. At our first comming, two of their caciques, who are their lords or kings, came aboard our shippe (we leaving one of our company ashore as a pledge), whom we feasted in good manner; they eat well of all that was set before them, and dranke better of our wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvayled much at our artillery: I caused a peece to be primed, and after to be shott off, whereat the one started, but the other made no shew of alteration. After putting them ashore, loaden with toyes and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all parts of the iland the people came unto us, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, cockes, etc. (from hennes they would not part), and divers sorts of fruits and rootes, which they exchanged with us for knives, glasses, combes, belles, beades, counters, pinnes, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of gold or silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gave us to understand that they had it from the mayne.

Exchanges  
of trifles.

Of sheepe. The sheepe of this iland are great, good, and fatt; I have not tasted better mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those which the Spaniards brought into the country. Of the sheepe of the country we could by no means procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them; for they esteem them much, as reason willeth, serving them for many uses; as in another place, God willing, I shall declare more at large. They have small store of fish.

<sup>1</sup> *To lamm* is used by Beaumont and Fletcher in the sense of *beat-bruise*.

This iland is scituate in the province of Arawca,<sup>1</sup> and is Sect. XII.  
held to be peopled with the most valiant nation in all Chily,  
though generally the inhabitants of that kingdome are  
very couragions.

They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of Their  
apparell,  
woollen ; their cassockes made like a sacke, square, with  
two holes for the two armes, and one for the head, all open  
below, without lining or other art : but of them some are  
most curiously wooven, and in colours, and on both sides  
alike.

Their houses are made round, in fashion like unto our and  
housing.  
pigeon houses, with a laver<sup>2</sup> in the toppe, to evacuate the  
smoake when they made fire.

They brought us a strange kinde of tobacco, made into  
little cakes, like pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through  
the middle, and so laced many upon a string. They pre-  
sented us also with two Spanish letters, thinking us to be  
Spaniards, which were written by a captaine of a frigate,  
that some dayes before had received courtesie at their  
hands, and signified the same to the governour ; wishing  
that the people of the iland would become good subjects to  
the king, and that therefore he would receive them into  
his favour and protection, and send them some person as  
governour ; but none of them spake Spanish, and so we  
dealt with them by signes. The people of this iland, as of People of  
Chily.  
all Chily,<sup>3</sup> are of good stature, and well made, and of better  
countenance then those Indians which I have seene in many  
parts. They are of good understanding, and agilitie, and  
of great strength. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, Their  
weapons.  
and macanas : their bowes short and strong, and their ar-

<sup>1</sup> The Araucans have been immortalised in the *Araucana*, a poem  
written by Don Alonzo de Ercilla. The first part was printed in 1569,  
the second in 1578. The best edition is that of Sancha (Madrid, 1776).

<sup>2</sup> This word is perhaps derived from *lave*, to draw out, to exhaust.

<sup>3</sup> Chile.

Sect. XLIV. It hath its governour, and *audiencia*, with two bishoppes: the one of Saint Iago, the other of the Imperiall; all under the vice-roy, *audiencia*, and primate of Lyma. Saint Iago is the metropolitan and head of the kingdome, and the seate of justice, which hath its appellation<sup>1</sup> to Lyma.

The valour  
of the  
Araucans.

The people are industrious and ingenious, of great strength, and invincible courage; as in the warres, which they have susteyned above fortie yeares continually against the Spaniards, hath beene experienced. For confirmation whereof, I will alledge onely two proofes of many; the one was of an Indian captaine taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and for that he was of name, and knowne to have done his devoire against them, they cut off his hands, thereby intending to disenable him to fight any more against them: but he returning home, desirous to revenge this injury, to maintaine his libertie, with the reputation of his nation, and to helpe to banish the Spaniard, with his tongue intreated and incited them to persevere in their accustomed valour and reputation; abasing the enemy, and advancing his nation; condemning their contraries of cowardlinesse, and confirming it by the crueltie used with him, and others his companions in their mishaps; shewing them his armes without hands, and naming his brethren whose halfe feete they had cut off, because they might be unable to sit on horsebacke: with force arguing, that if they feared them not, they would not have used so great inhumanitie; for feare produceth crueltie, the companion of cowardize. Thus encouraged he them to fight for their lives, limbes, and libertie, choosing rather to die an honourable death fighting, then to live in servitude, as fruitlesse members in their common-wealth. Thus, using the office of a sergeant major, and having loaden his two stumpes with bundles of arrowes, succoured those who in the succeeding battaile had their store wasted, and changing himselfe from place

<sup>1</sup> Appeal.

to place, animated and encouraged his countri-men with such comfortable perswasions, as it is reported, and credibly beleaved, that he did much more good with his words and presence, without striking a strouke, then a great part of the armie did with fighting to the utmost. Sect. XLV.

The other prooffe is, that such of them as fight on horse-backe, are but slightly armed, for that their armour is a beasts hide, fitted to their bodie greene, and after worne till it be dry and hard. He that is best armed, hath him double; yet any one of them with these armes, and with his launce, will fight hand to hand with any Spaniard armed from head to foote. And it is credibly reported that an Indian being wounded through the body by a Spaniards launce, with his owne hands hath crept on upon the launce, and come to grapple with his adversary, and both fallen to the ground together. By which is seene their resolution and invincible courage, and the desire they have to maintaine their reputation and libertie.

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SECTION XLV.

LEAVING the coast of Chily, and running towards that of Peru, my company required the third of the gold we had gotten, which of right belonged unto them; wherein I desired to give them satisfaction of my just intention, but not to devide it till we came home, and so perswaded them with the best reasons I could; alledging the difficultie to devide the barres, and being parted, how easie it was to be robbed of them, and that many would play away their portions and come home as beggarly as they came out; and that the shares could not be well made before our returne to England, because every mans merites could not be discerned nor rewarded till the end of the voyage. In conclusion, it was resolved, and agreed, that the things of price,

10. I was not surprised to learn that although I should see  
a lot of things in the laboratory there, I am understanding a  
great deal in the question of all the various, seemed pro-  
fessionals and I would not be coming back, though I  
would have thought it was the only way to go for a  
testimony. This all was a surprise and I wish to be sure  
that I am not being misled and am quite certain.

[illegible]

## SECTION XLIII.

I CONCLUDED the ransome of the shippes with an auncient Sect. XLIII. captaine, and of noble blood, who had his daughter there, ready to be imbarked to go to Lyma, to serve Donia Tereza de Castro, the viceroyes wife,<sup>1</sup> and sister to Don Beltran de Castro. Her apparell and his, with divers other things which they had imbarked in the greatest shippe, we restored, for the good office he did us, and the confidence he had of us, comming and going onely upon my word; for which he was after ever thankfull, and deserved much more.

Another that treated with me was Captaine Iuan Contreres, owner of one of the shippes, and of the iland Santa Maria, in thirty-seaven degrees and fortie minutes. In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions we made choyce of, wee spent some sixe or eight dayes; at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges, and our shippe as well stored and victualled as the day we departed from England, we set sayle.

The time wee were in this port, I tooke small rest, and They depart from Lyma, so did the master of our shippe, Hugh Cornish, a most carefull, orderly, and sufficient man, because we knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the harbour, we had but seaventie five men and boyes, five shippes to guard, and every one moored by himselfe; which, no doubt, if our enemies had knowne, they would have wrought some and conceale their weaknes. stratagem upon us; for the governour of Chily was there on shore in view of us, an auncient Flanders soldier, and of experience, wisdom, and valour, called Don Alonso de

<sup>1</sup> Teresa, daughter of the Count of Lemos, and wife of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Viceroy of Peru from 1590 to 1599.

Sect. XIII.

we had also store of good bacon, and some provision of bread, hennes, and other victuall. And for that shee had brought us so good a portion, and her owner continued with us, the better to animate him to play the honest man (though we trusted him no further then we saw him, for we presently discovered him to be a cunning fellow), and for that his other partner had lost the greatest part of gold, and seemed to be an honest man, as after he proved by his thankfulness in Lyma, we gave them the ship and the greatest part of her loading freely.

Light  
anchors  
brought  
from the  
North sea.

Here we supplied our want of anchors, though not according to that which was requisite in regard of the burden of our shippe; for in the South sea, the greatest anchor for a shippe of sixe or eight hundreth tunnes, is not a thousand waight; partly, because it is little subject to stormes, and partly, because those they had till our coming, were all brought out of the North sea by land; for they make no anchors in those countries. And the first artillerie they had was also brought over land, which was small; the carriage and passage from Nombre de Dios, or Porto Velo, to Panama, being most difficult and steepe, up hill and downe hill, they are all carried upon negroes backea.

And the  
firstartil-  
lerie.

Sayles of  
cotton  
cloth.

But some years before my imprisonment, they fell to making of artillery, and, since, they forge anchors also. Wee furnished our shippe also with a shift of sayles of cotton cloth, which are farre better in that sea then any of our double sayles; for that in all the navigation of that sea they have little rayne and few stormes; but where rayne and stormes are ordinary, they are not good; for with the wett they grow so stiffe they cannot be handled.

## SECTION XLIII.

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The time wee were in this port, I tooke small rest, and so did the master of our shippe, Hugh Cornish, a most carefull, orderly, and sufficient man, because we knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the harbour, we had but seaventie five men and boyes, five shippes to guard, and every one moored by himselfe; which, no doubt, if our enemies had knowne, they would have wrought some stratagem upon us; for the governour of Chily was there on shore in view of us, an auncient Flanders soldier, and of experience, wisdom, and valour, called Don Alonso de They depart from Ly. and conceal the weakness

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See. III.

It standeth in fortie degrees, hath a pleasant river and navigable, for a ship of good burden may goe as high up as the citie; and is a goodly woody country.

Here our beefe beganne to take end, and was then as good as the day wee departeth from England; it was preserved in pickell, which, though it be more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge in that it is made more durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible that beefe should be kept good passing the equinoctiall lyne. And of our porke I eate in the house of Don Beltran de Castro, in Lyma, neere foure yeares old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding it had lost his pickell long before.

Some degrees before a man comes to Baldivia to the southwards, as Spaniards have told me, lyeth the iland Chule,<sup>1</sup> not easily to be discerned from the mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to be the mayne. It is said to be inhabited by the Spaniards, but badly, yet rich of gold.

The 19th of April, being Easter-even, we anchored under the iland Mocha.<sup>2</sup> It lyeth in thirty-nine degrees, it may be some foure leagues over, and is a high mountainous hill, but round about the foote thereof, some half league from the sea-shore, it is champion ground, well inhabited, and manured.

From the straites to this iland, we found that either the coast is set out more westerly then it is, or that we had a great current, which put us to the west-wards: for we had not sight of land in three dayes after. Our reckoning was to see it, but for that we coasted not the land, I cannot de-

<sup>1</sup> Chiloe.

<sup>2</sup> A lofty island on the coast of Chile. Its summit is 1250 feet above the sea. Previous to the eighteenth century it was inhabited by Araucanian Indians, but they are driven out by the Spaniards. The anchorages were indifferent, and the landing bad. Mocha is about seven miles long by three broad, between 38° 20' and 38° 26' S.

termine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the land. But Spaniards which have sayled alongst it, have told me that it is a bold and safe coast, and reasonable sounding off it. Sect. XL.

In this iland of Mocha we had communication and contratation<sup>1</sup> with the inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of Chily are mortall enemies to the Spaniards, and held us to be of them; and so esteemed Sir Francis Drake when he was in this iland, which was the first land also that he touched on this coast. They used him with so fine a trechery, that they possessed themselves of all the oares in his boate, saving two, and in striving to get them also, they slew and hurt all his men: himselfe, who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one seaventeene (his name was John Bruer, who afterward was pilot with master Candish), and the other about twentie, a negroe-servant to Sir Francis Drake.

And with me they used a pollicie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treat with me nor with my people with armes. We were armed, and met upon a rock compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the caciques and others, many of the Indians came to the heads of our boates, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the boates with their oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their musketts; which the Indians perceiving, endeavoured to fill the barrells with water, taking it out of the sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discovered their slynesse, and with a truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gave the Indians three or foure good

Trechery  
the Indian

<sup>1</sup> *Contractation*—commerce or dealings with them.

Sect. XL.

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the Indians

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there is a short wall of stone, three quarters of a yard long, with two pillars, and headed with a flat stone, which is raised and hurled, the head remaining in the wall, and the stone with some, and some with hard wood, made much in the fire. We came betwixt the land and the main. In the south-west part of the land there is a great range of rocks, which are dangerous; and it is good to be careful how to come too neere the land on all parts.

Immediately when they discovered us, both upon the land and the main, we might see them make sundry great fires, which were to give notice to the rest of the people to be in a readiness: for they have continuall and mortal wars with the Spaniards, and the shippes they see they believe to be their enemies. The citie imperiall lieth over against this land, but eight or tenne leagues into the country. In all the sea coast from Baldivia till thirty-six degrees, the Indians have now, in a manner, in their hands free from any Spaniards.

#### SECTION XLII.

Having refreshed our selves well in this iland, for that little time wee stayed, which was some three dayes, wee set saile with great joy, and with a fayre winde sayled alongst the coast; and some eight leagues to the northwards, we anchored againe in a goodly bay, and sent our boates ashore, with desire to speake with some of the Indians of Arawca, and to see if they would be content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with us. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one person,

<sup>1</sup> In 1694, the Araucans entirely destroyed the Spanish towns of Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion.

This iland is scituate in the province of Arawca,<sup>1</sup> and is held to be peopled with the most valiant nation in all Chily, though generally the inhabitants of that kingdome are very couragious. Sect. XLI.

They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their cassockes made like a sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head, all open below, without lining or other art: but of them some are most curiously wooven, and in colours, and on both sides alike. Their apparell,

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<sup>1</sup> The Araucans have been immortalised in the *Araucana*, a poem written by Don Alonso de Ercilla. The first part was printed in 1569, the second in 1578. The best edition is that of Sancha (Madrid, 1776).

<sup>2</sup> This word is perhaps derived from *lave*, to draw out, to exhaust.

<sup>3</sup> Chile.

Sec. XII. my company urged me so farre, that except I should seem in all things to over-bear them, in not condescending to that which in the opinion of all, but my selfe, seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeelde unto, though it carried a false colour, as the ende proved, for it was our perdition. This all my company knoweth to be true, whereof some are yet living and can give testimonie.

With the  
of mariners.

But the mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment hee looseth his voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedines of spoyle, onely hoped for in shippes of trade, which goe too and fro in this coast, blinded them from forecasting the perill whereinto wee exposed our voyage, in discovering our selves before we past the coast of Callao, which is the port of Lyma. To be short, wee haled the coast aboard, and that evening we discovered the port of Balparizo,<sup>1</sup> which serveth the citty of Saint Iago, standing some twenty leagues into the countrey: when presently we descried foure shippes at an anchor: whereupon wee manned and armed our boate, which rowed towards the shippes: they seeing us turning in, and fearing that which was, ran a shore with that little they could save, and leaft us the rest; whereof we were masters in a moment, and had the rifling of all the storehouses on the sheare.

They seize  
upon four  
ships.

This night I set a good guard in all the shippes, longing to see the light of the next morning to put all things in order; which appearing, I began to survey them, and found nothing of moment, saving five hundred botozios<sup>2</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Valparaiso, the chief port of Chile, received its name from Juan de Saavedra, a follower of Almagro, after his own native village of Valparaiso near Cuenca, in Spain. On September 3rd, 1544, Valdivia confirmed the name given by Saavedra.

<sup>2</sup> Bota is Spanish for a wine-skin or vessel: botija, a jar used for the same purpose.

wine, two or three thousand of hennes, and some refreshing of bread, bacon, dried beefe, waxe, candles, and other necessities. The rest of their lading was planks, spares, and timber, for Lyma, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no timber but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packes of Indian mantles, but of no value unto us, with much tallow, and manteca de puerco,<sup>1</sup> and abundance of great new chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but apples therein; all which was good marchandize in Lyma, but to us of small accompt. The marchandize on shore in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the shippes gave us to understand that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their shippes and loading, which I hearkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded but that there was much gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yelded us more then the other three.

Being in this treatie, one morning at the breake of day came another shippe touring into the harbour, and standing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her wee manned a couple of boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this shippe we had some good quantitie of gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this shippe was pilot and part owner, Alonso Perezbuena, whom we kept for our pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children), we set him ashore betwixt Santa and Truxillo.<sup>2</sup> Out of this shippe

Sect. XLII.

And the  
ware-  
houses.They seize  
upon an-  
other ship,and some  
gold.<sup>1</sup> Lard.<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Peru, north of Lima.



Sec. 112. we had also store of good bacon, and some provision of bread, hennes, and other victuall. And for that shee had brought us so good a portion, and her owner continued with us, the better to animate him to play the honest man (though we trusted him no further then we saw him, for we presently discovered him to be a cunning fellow), and for that his other partner had lost the greatest part of gold, and seemed to be an honest man, as after he proved by his thankfulness in Lyma, we gave them the ship and the greatest part of her loading freely.

Here we supplied our want of anchors, though not according to that which was requisite in regard of the burden of our shippe: for in the South sea, the greatest anchor for a shippe of sixe or eight hundreth tunnes, is not a thousand waight: partly, because it is little subject to stormes, and partly, because those they had till our coming, were all brought out of the North sea by land; for they make no anchors in those countries. And the first anchor they had was also brought over land, which was by the carriage and passage from Nombre de Dios, or from Panama, being most difficult and steepe, up which they were all carried upon negroes backs. Before my imprisonment, they fell to forging iron, and since, they forge anchors also. We furnished our shippe also with a shift of sayles of a better sort, which are farre better in that sea then any of the others, for that in all the navigation of that sea, there is but few and few stormes: but where rayne comes, the sayles are not good; for with the same they cannot be handled.

wine, two or three thousand of hennes, and some refreshing of bread, bacon, dried beefe, waxe, candles, and other necessities. The rest of their lading was planks, spares, and timber, for Lyra, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no timber but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packes of Indian mantles, but of no value unto us, with much tallow, and manteca de puerco,<sup>1</sup> and abundance of great new chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but apples therein; all which was good marchandize in Lyra, but to us of small accompt. The marchandize on shore in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the shippes gave us to understand that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their shippes and loading, which I hearkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded but that there was much gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yeilded us more then the other three.

Being in this treatie, one morning at the breake of day <sup>They are in sight, and</sup> came another shippe touring into the harbour, and stand- <sup>about ship.</sup> ing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her wee manned a couple of boates, and took her before many houres. In this shippe we had some good quantitie of gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Con- <sup>and some</sup> ception, from whence shee came. Of this shippe was pilot and part owner, Alonso Perezbueno, whom we kept for our pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children), we set him ashore betwixt Santa and Trax.<sup>2</sup> Out of this shipp

<sup>1</sup> Lard.

<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Peru, north of Lima

Sec. L. stormes, and certainty of the breze, with the desire to make their gaine the greater, is the cause that every man forceth himselfe to the uttermost, to doe the labour of two men.

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SECTION L.

The Islands of Solomon. In the height of this port of Santa, some seven hundreth and fiftie leagues to the west-wardes, lie the ilands of Solomon, of late yeares discovered.<sup>1</sup> At my being in Lyma, a fleete of foure sayle was sent from thence to people them; which through the emulation and discord that arose amongst them, being landed and settled in the countrie, was utterly overthrowne; onely one shippe, with some few of the people, after much misery, got to the Philippines.<sup>2</sup> This I

<sup>1</sup> The Solomon Islands are between 7° and 11° S. latitude. Santa is in 9° S.

<sup>2</sup> The first expedition to the Solomon Islands was fitted out by the Viceroy Castro, and sailed from Callao in 1567, under command of the gallant young Alvaro Mendaña de Meyra, then only twenty-six years of age. After a voyage of eighty days they reached one of the Solomon Islands, named by Mendaña the Island of Santa Isabella de Estrella. Mendaña returned to Peru, but he had to wait a quarter of a century before he could induce another Viceroy to fit out an expedition. At last, the Marquis of Cañete despatched him again, and he sailed from Payta on the 16th of June, 1595. This must be the expedition referred to by Sir Richard Hawkins. The object was to attempt the colonisation of the Solomon Islands, and Mendaña had Pedro Fernandez de Quiros as chief pilot. The expedition consisted, as Sir Richard says, of four vessels. After discovering the Marquesas, named after the Marquis of Cañete, they sighted an island on the 7th September, which they named Santa Cruz; and here Mendaña resolved to form his colony. But he fell ill and died on the 17th of October, and his wife Doña Isabel took command of the expedition. Sickness broke out, and she bore up for Manilla, but only two out of the four vessels arrived there in safety. Here Doña Isabel found a second husband, with whom she went to Mexico. The best account of the expeditions of Mendaña will be found in the *Hechos de Don Garcia de Mendoza, Marques de Cañete*, by Dr.

came to the knowledge of by a large relation written from Sect. 1  
 a person of credit, and sent from the Philippines to Panama.  
 I saw it at my being there, in my voyage towards Spaine.

Having edged neere the coast to put the Spaniards on shore, a thicke fogge tooke us, so that wee could not see the land; but recovering our pinnace and boate, we sayled on our course, till we came thwart of the port called Malabrigo: it lyeth in seaven degrees.

In all this coast the current runneth with great force, but never keepeth any certaine course, saving that it runneth along the coast, sometimes to the south-wards, sometimes to the north-wards; which, now running to the north-wards, forced us so far into the bay, which a point of the land causeth, that they call Punta de Augussa,<sup>1</sup> as thinking Punta de Augussa. to cleere ourselves by roving north-west, wee could not double this point, making our way north north-west. Therefore speciall care is ever to bee had of the current: and doubtlesse, if the providence of Almighty God had not freede us, wee had runne ashore upon the land, without seeing or suspecting any such danger. His name bee ever exalted and magnified for delivering us from the unknowne daunger, by calming the winde all night; the sunnes rising manifested unto us our errour and perill, by discovering unto us the land within two leagues, right a head. The current had carried us without any wind, at the least foure leagues; which scene, and the winde beginning to blow, wee brought our tackes abourd, and in short time cleared our selves.

Thwart of this point of Augussa, lie two desert ilandes;

Christoval Suarez de Figueroa (Madrid, 1613), lib. vi. There is also a narrative of the events of the second voyage in a letter from the Pilot Quiros to Don Antonio de Morga, Governor of the Philippines. Sir Richard probably saw this letter from Quiros.

<sup>1</sup> Punta de Aguja, a long and level point, terminating in a bluff 150 feet high; in 5° 55' S.

## Sect. LVIII.

Prying of  
the Spani-  
ards into  
our disci-  
pline.

Their imita-  
tion of our  
discipline.

Some that have beene our prisoners, have perfitted<sup>1</sup> themselves of that they have seene amongst us; and others, disguised under colour of treaties, for ransoming of prisoners, for bringing of presents, and other imbassages, have noted our forme of shipping, our manner of defences, and discipline. Sithence which espiall, in such actions as they have beene employed in, they seeke to imitate our government and reformed discipline at sea: which, doubtlesse, is the best and most proper that is at this day knowne or practised in the whole world, if the execution be answerable to that which is knowne and received for true and good amongst us.

In the captaine (for so the Spaniards call their admirall) was an English gunner, who to gain grace with those under whom hee served, preferred himselfe, and offered to sinke our shippe with the first shott he made; who, by the Spaniards relation, being travesing of a peece in the bowe, to make his shott, had his head carryed away with the first or second shott made out of our shippe. It slew also two or three of those which stood next him.

Which may be a good and gentle warning for all those who mooved either with covetousnesse, or with desire of revenge, or in hope of worldly promotion, or other respect whatsoever, doe willingly and voluntarily serve the enemy against their owne nation: *nulla causa insta videri potest, adversus patriam arma capiendi.*

The ends of  
fugitives.

And if we consider the end of those who have thus erred, wee shall finde them, for the most part, lamentable and most miserable. At the least, those whom I have knowne, have lived to be pointed at with detestation, and ended their lives in beggary, voyde of reputation.

<sup>1</sup> Profited.

but what they see : for my part, I am of opinion, that the strait is navigable all the year long, although the best time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow seas.<sup>1</sup>

Sect. XI

Being some fiftie leagues a sea-boord the straites, the winde vering to the west-wards, we cast about to the north-wards, and lying the coast along, shaped our course for the iland Mocha. About the fifteenth of April, we were thwart of Baldivia, which was then in the hands of the Spaniards, but since, the Indians, in anno 1599, dispossessed them of it, and the Conception ; which are two of the most principall places they had in that kingdome, and both ports.

Baldivia had its name of a Spanish captaine so called, whom afterwards the Indians tooke prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why he came to molest them and to take their country from them, having no title nor right thereunto ; he answered, to get gold ; which the barbarians understanding, caused gold to be molten, and poured down his throat, saying, gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information respecting these straits will be found in the voyages of the *Adventure* and *Beagle*. Now that the labours of King and Fitz Roy, and more recently of Mayne, have provided correct charts, the road is well known.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro de Valdivia was the first Governor of Chile, after the transitory invasion of Almagro. He overran the whole country, and founded seven cities : Coquimbo, Santiago, Angol, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago. He founded Santiago on February 24th, 1541. Then the Araucanians rose in arms, and Valdivia seems to have carelessly underrated the danger. The mode of his death related by Hawkins, is fabulous. For the true account, see *Araucana*, Part I, Canto III ; and G. de la Vega, *Comm. Real.*, Part I, Lib. VII, cap. 23. The rising took place in 1553, and continued for many years. The most fierce outbreak was in 1599. The city of Valdivia was surprised on November 24th of that year, and entirely destroyed.

Sect. XII.

It standeth in fortie degrees, hath a pleasant river and navigable, for a ship of good burden may goe as high up as the cittie; and is a goodly woody country.

Here our beefe beganne to take end, and was then as good as the day wee departeth from England; it was preserved in pickell; which, though it be more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made more durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible that beefe should be kept good passing the equinoctiall lyne. And of our porke I eate in the house of Don Beltran de Castro, in Lyma, neere foure yeares old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding it had lost his pickell long before.

Some degrees before a man comes to Baldivia to the southwards, as Spaniards have told me, lyeth the iland Chule,<sup>1</sup> not easily to be discerned from the mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to be the mayne. It is said to be inhabited by the Spaniards, but badly, yet rich of gold.

The 19th of April, being Easter-even, we anchored under the iland Mocha.<sup>2</sup> It lyeth in thirty-nine degrees, it may be some foure leagues over, and is a high mountainous hill, but round about the foote thereof, some half league from the sea-shore, it is champion ground, well inhabited, and manured.

From the straites to this iland, we found that either the coast is set out more westerly then it is, or that we had a great current, which put us to the west-wards: for we had not sight of land in three dayes after. Our reckoning was to see it, but for that we coasted not the land, I cannot de-

<sup>1</sup> Chiloe.

<sup>2</sup> A lofty island on the coast of Chile. Its summit is 1250 feet above the sea. Previous to the eighteenth century it was inhabited by Araucanian Indians, but they are driven out by the Spaniards. The anchorages were indifferent, and the landing bad. Mocha is about seven miles long by three broad, between 38° 20' and 38° 26' S.

termine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the land. But Spaniards which have sayled alongst it, have told me that it is a bold and safe coast, and reasonable sounding off it. Sect. xli.

In this iland of Mocha we had communication and contratation<sup>1</sup> with the inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of Chily are mortall enemies to the Spaniards, and held us to be of them; and so esteemed Sir Francis Drake when he was in this iland, which was the first land also that he touched on this coast. They used him with so fine a trechery, that they possessed themselves of all the oares in his boate, saving two, and in striving to get them also, they slew and hurt all his men: himselfe, who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one seaventeene (his name was John Bruer, who afterward was pilot with master Candish), and the other about twentie, a negroe-servant to Sir Francis Drake.

And with me they used a pollicie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treate with me nor with my people with armes. We were armed, and met upon a rock compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the caciques and others, many of the Indians came to the heads of our boates, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the boates with their oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their musketts; which the Indians perceiving, endeavoured to fill the barrells with water, taking it out of the sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discovered their slynesse, and with a truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gave the Indians three or foure good

Trechery of  
the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> *Contractation*—commerce or dealings with them.



~~sec. xii.~~ lamskinnes; the caciques seeing it, began to give me satisfaction by using rigor towards those which had been in the boates; but I having gotten the refreshing I desired, and all I could hope from them, would have no further conversation with them. At our first coming, two of their caciques, who are their lords or kings, came aboard our shippe (we leaving one of our company ashore as a pledge), whom we feasted in good manner; they eat well of all that was set before them, and drank better of our wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvelled much at our artillery: I caused a peece to be primed, and after to be shott off, whereat the one started, but the other made no shew of alteration. After putting them ashore, loaden with toys and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all parts of the iland the people came unto us, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, cockes, etc. (from hennes they would not part), and ~~various~~ <sup>divers</sup> sorts of fruits and rootes, which they exchanged with us for knives, glasses, combes, belles, beades, counters, pences, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of gold or silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gave us to understand that they had it from the mayne.

~~sec. xiii.~~ The sheepe of this iland are great, good, and fatt; I have not tasted better mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those which the Spaniards brought into the country. Of the sheepe of the country we could by no means procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them; they esteem them much, as reason willeth, serving them y uses; as in another place, God willing, I shall more at large. They have small store of fish.

is used by Beaumont and Fletcher in the sense of heat—

This iland is scituate in the province of Arawca,<sup>1</sup> and is <sup>Sect. XLI.</sup> held to be peopled with the most valiant nation in all Chily, though generally the inhabitants of that kingdome are very couragious.

They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of <sup>Their</sup> woollen; their cassockes made like a sacke, square, with <sup>apparell,</sup> two holes for the two armes, and one for the head, all open below, without lining or other art: but of them some are most curiously wooven, and in colours, and on both sides alike.

Their houses are made round, in fashion like unto our <sup>and</sup> pigeon houses, with a laver<sup>2</sup> in the toppe, to evacuate the <sup>housing.</sup> smoake when they made fire.

They brought us a strange kinde of tobacco, made into little cakes, like pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many upon a string. They presented us also with two Spanish letters, thinking us to be Spaniards, which were written by a captaine of a frigate, that some dayes before had received courtesie at their hands, and signified the same to the governour; wishing that the people of the iland would become good subjects to the king, and that therefore he would receive them into his favour and protection, and send them some person as governour; but none of them spake Spanish, and so we dealt with them by signes. The people of this iland, as of <sup>People of</sup> all Chily,<sup>3</sup> are of good stature, and well made, and of better <sup>Chily.</sup> countenance then those Indians which I have seene in many parts. They are of good understanding, and agilitie, and of great strength. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, <sup>Their</sup> and macanas: their bowes short and strong, and their <sup>weapons.</sup> ar-

<sup>1</sup> The Araucans have been immortalised in the *Araucana*, a poem written by Don Alonzo de Ercilla. The first part was printed in 1569, the second in 1578. The best edition is that of Sancha (Madrid, 1776).

<sup>2</sup> This word is perhaps derived from *lave*, to draw out, to exhaust.

<sup>3</sup> Chile.

Sect. LIX.

if they had come to boord with the Spanish high-charged ships, it is not to be doubted but they would have mustred themselves better, then those which could not with their prowesse nor props, have reached to their wastes. The strength of the one cannot be compared with the strength of the other : but in bourding, it goeth not so much in the strength, as in weight and greatnesse. For the greater ship that bourdeth with the lesser, with her mastes, her yardes, her tacklings, her anchors, her ordinance, and with her sides, bruseth and beateth the lesser to peeces, although the lesser be farre stronger according to proportion.

The *Foresight* of his Majesties, and the *Daintie*, were shippes in their proportions farre more stronger then the carake which was taken by them and their consorts, anno 92: for she had in a manner no strong building nor binding, and the others were strengthened and bound as art was able to affoord ; and yet both bourding with her, were so brused, broken and badly handled, as they had like to have sunke by her side, though bourding with advantage to weather-wards of her. But what would have become of them if she should have had the wind of them, and have come aboard to wind-ward of them ? In small time, no doubt she would have beaten them under water.

Anno 90, in the fleet under the charge of Sir John Hawkins, my father, comming from the south-wards, the *Hope*, of his Majesties, gave chase to a French ship, thinking her to be a Spaniard. She thought to have freed her selfe by her sailing, and so would not availe, but endured the shooting of many peeces, and forced the *Hope* to lay her aboard ; of which issued that mischief which before I spake off. For in a moment the French ship had all her mastes, yards, and sailes in the sea, and with great difficultie the *Hope* could free herselfe from sinking her.

In the self-same voyage, neere the ilands of Flores and Corvo, the *Rainbow* and the *Foresight* came foule one of

wine, two or three thousand of hennes, and some refreshing of bread, bacon, dried beefe, waxe, candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was planks, spares, and timber, for Lyra, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no timber but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packes of Indian mantles, but of no value unto us, with much tallow, and manteca de puerco,<sup>1</sup> and abundance of great new chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but apples therein; all which was good marchandize in Lyra, but to us of small accompt. The marchandize on shore in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the shippes gave us to understand that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their shippes and loading, which I hearkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded but that there was much gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yeelded us more then the other three.

Sect. XLII.

And the  
ware-  
houses.

Being in this treatie, one morning at the breake of day came another shippe touring into the harbour, and standing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her wee manned a couple of boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this shippe we had some good quantitie of gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this shippe was pilot and part owner, Alonso Perezbuena, whom we kept for our pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children), we set him ashore betwixt Santa and Truxillo.<sup>2</sup> Out of this shippe

They seize  
upon an-  
other ship,and some  
gold.<sup>1</sup> Lard.<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Peru, north of Lima.

Sect. LIX. ficial to all, whereas arrogancie and ambition are ever accompanied with shame, losse, and repentance.

Arrogancy  
of a Spanish  
generall.

And though in many examples, touching this point, I have beene an eye witnesse, yet I will record but one, which I saw in the river of Civill,<sup>1</sup> at my comming out of the Indies amongst the galleons loaden with silver. For their wafting, the king sent to the Tercera, eight new galleons, under the charge of Villa Viciosa, who entring the barre of Saint Lucar joyntly, the shippes loaden with silver, anchored in the midst of the river in deeper water, and the wafters on either side, neere the shoare. The admirall of the wafters rode close by the galleon in which I was, and had moored her selfe in that manner, as her streame, cable, and anchor, overlayed our land-most. And winding up with the first of the flood, shee her selfe in one of her cables, which together with the great currant of the ebbe, and force of the winde which blewe fresh, caused her to drive, and to dragge home her anchors; and with that which overlay ours, to cause us to do the like. Whereupon, on both sides was crying out to veere cable: we, for our parts, had lost all our cables in the Terceras, saving those which were a-ground, and those very short, and vered to the better end. The admirall strained courtesie, thinking the other, though loaden with silver, bound to let slippe one, so to give him way; and the generall standing in his gallery, saw the danger which both shippes ranne into, being in a manner bound and bound, and driving upon the point of the shoare: yet he commanded to hold fast, and not to veere cable, till he was required and commanded in the kings name, by the captaine of our shippe; protesting the damage which should ensue thereof to the king and merchants, to runne upon the admirals accompt;

<sup>1</sup> Seville was formerly the emporium of the trade of the new world: since the Guadalquivir has become unnavigable for large vessels, its trade has been transferred to Cadiz.

## SECTION XLIII.

CONCLUDED the ransome of the shippes with an auncient Sect. XLIII.  
 Captaine, and of noble blood, who had his daughter there,  
 ready to be imbarked to go to Lyma, to serve Donia  
 Teresa de Castro, the viceroyes wife,<sup>1</sup> and sister to Don  
 Meltran de Castro. Her apparell and his, with divers other  
 things which they had imbarked in the greatest shippe, we  
 restored, for the good office he did us, and the confidence  
 we had of us, comming and going ouely upon my word;  
 for which he was after ever thankefull, and deserved much  
 more.

Another that treated with me was Captaine Iuan Contreras, owner of one of the shippes, and of the iland Santa Maria, in thirty-seaven degrees and fortie minutes. In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions we made choyce of, wee spent some sixe or eight dayes; at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges, and our shippe as well stored and victualled as the day we departed from England, we set sayle.

The time wee were in this port, I tooke small rest, and so did the master of our shippe, Hugh Cornish, a most carefull, orderly, and sufficient man, because we knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the harbour, we had but seaventie five men and boyes, five shippes to guard, and every one moored by himselfe; which, no doubt, if our enemies had knowne, they would have wrought some stratagem upon us; for the governour of Chily was there on shore in view of us, an auncient Flanders soldier, and of experience, wisdom, and valour, called Don Alonso de They depart  
from Lyma,  
  
and con-  
ceale their  
weaknes.

<sup>1</sup> Teresa, daughter of the Count of Lemos, and wife of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Viceroy of Peru from 1590 to 1599.

[illegible]

the damage of his enemy. For in case he excuse himself with this allegation, it cannot but redound to his condemnation and disreputation. And I assure all men, that in any reasonable equalitie of shipping, we cannot desire greater advantage, then we have of the Spaniards by bourding. The reasons why, I hold it not convenient to discourse in particular; but experience and tract of time, with that which I have seen amongst them, hath taught me this knowledge; and those who have seene their discipline, and ours, cannot but testifie the same.

Sect. LX.

## SECTION LX.

AGAINE, all that which hath beene spoken of the danger of the artillery in bourding, it is not to be wrested nor interpreted, to cut of utterly the use of all artillery after bourding, but rather I hold nothing more convenient in shippes of warre, then fowlers and great bases in the cage workes, and murderers in the cobridge heads; for that their execution and speedie charging and discharging, is of great moment.<sup>1</sup>

Courses for  
artillery  
after bour-  
ding.

Many I know have left the use of them, and of sundry other preventions, as of sherehookes, stones in their toppes, and arming them; pikebolts in their wales, and divers other engines of antiquitie. But upon what inducement, I cannot relate, unlesse it be because they never knew their effects and benefit; and may no doubt be used without the inconveniences before mentioned in great ordinance. As also such may be the occasion, that without danger some of the great artillery may be used, and that with great

Disuses of  
engines of  
antiquitie.

<sup>1</sup> Fowlers, murderers, etc., were pieces of cannon of the nature of swivels, adapted to close combat. The "cobridge heads" seem to have been bulk heads across the fore and after parts of the vessel.



Sect. LXI. effect, which is in the discretion of the commanders and their gunners, as hath beene formerly seene, and daily is experimented. In the *Revenge* of her Majesties good experience was made, who sunke two of the Spanish armado lying about her.

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SECTION LXI.

In these bourdings and skirmishes, divers of our men were slaine, and many hurt, and myselfe amongst them received sixe wounds: one of them in the necke, very perillous; another through the arme, perishing the bone, and cutting the sinewes close by the arme-pit; the rest not so dangerous. The master of our shippe had one of his eyes, his nose, and halfe his face shott away. Master Henry Courton was slaine. On these two I principally relied for the prosecution of our voyage, if God, by sicknesse, or otherwise, should take me away.

The Spaniards parley.

The Spaniards with their great ordinance lay continually playing upon us, and now and then parled and invited us to surrender ourselves *a buena guerra*.<sup>1</sup> The captaine of our shippe, in whose direction and guide, our lives, our honour, and welfare now remained, seeing many of our people wounded and slaine, and that few were left to sustaine and maintaine the fight, or to resist the entry of the enemy, if he should againe bound with us, and that our contraries offered us good *pertido*,<sup>2</sup> came unto me accompanied with some others, and began to relate the state of our shippe, and how that many were hurt and slaine, and scarce any men appeared to traverse the artillery, or to oppose themselves for defence, if the enemy should bound

<sup>1</sup> *En buena guerra* means by fair or lawful means: it probably implied offering quarter: which means, that if accepted, a certaine sum was to be given as ransom.

<sup>2</sup> *Partido* (Spanish), favour or protection.

that he should be more then superficially instructed and practised in the employments. Yea, I am verily perswaded that the more absolute authoritie any commander giveth to his under officers, being worthy of it, the sweeter is the command, and the more respected and beloved the commander. Sect. lrv.

For in matter of guide and disposing of the saylers, with the tackling of the shippe, and the workes which belong thereunto, within board and without, all is to be committed to the masters charge. Office of the master

The pilote is to look carefully to the steridge of the shippe; to be watchfull in taking the heights of sunne and starre; to note the way of his shippe, with the augmenting and lessening of the winde, etc. Office of the pilot.

The boateswayne is to see his shippe kept cleane; his mastes, yards and tacklings well coated, matted and armed; his shroudes and staves well set; his sayles repayred, and sufficiently prevented with martnets, blayles, and caskettes; his boate fitted with sayle, oares, thoughts, tholes danyd, windles and rother; his anchors well boyed, safely stopped and secured, with the rest to him appertaining. The boateswaine.

The steward is to see the preservation of vittayles and necessities committed unto his charge; and by measure and weight to deliver the portions appointed, and with discretion and good tearmes to give satisfaction to all. The steward.

The carpenter is to view the mastes and yards, the sides of the shippe, her deckes, and cabines, her pumpes, and boate; and moreover to occupie him selfe in the most forceible workes, except he be otherwise commanded. The carpenter.

The gunner is to care for the britching and tackling of his artillery; the fitting of his shott, tampkins, coyne, crones,<sup>1</sup> and lin-stockes, etc. To be provident in working his fire-workes; in making and filling his cartreges; in accommodating his ladles, sponges, and other necessities; The gunner.

<sup>1</sup> Crows or crow-bars?

in setting and trying his powder; in cleaning the armes, munition, and such like workes, intrusted unto him.

In this manner every officer in his office, ought to be an absolute commander, yet ready, in obedience and love, to surrender his will to his superiours command. This cannot but cause honour: and honour cannot but purchase a happie issue in his full dayes.

Lastly, except in be in urgent and precise cases, the head should never direct his command to any but the officers, and these secretly, except the occasion require publication, in that it touch all in generall.

Such orders would be, for the most part, in writing, that all might know what in generall is commanded and required.

#### SECTION LV.

As the wise husband-man, in walking from ground to ground, beholdeth one plowing, another harrowing, another sowing and hipping, another pruning, one hedging, another threshing, and divers occupied in severall labours; some he commendeth, others he reproacheth; others he adviseth, and to another he saith nothing, for that he seeth him in the right way: and all this, for that he knoweth and understandeth what they all doe, better then they themselves, though busied in their ordinary workes: even so a worthy commander at sea, ought to have the eyes, not only of his body, but also of his understanding, continually set (with watchfull care) upon all men, and all their workes under his charge: imitating the wise husband-man; first to know, and then to command: and lastly, to will their obedience voluntary, and without contradiction. For who knoweth not that ignorance many times commandeth that which it understandeth not; which the artist perceiving, first dis-

daineth, afterwards disteemeth, and finally in these great Sect. LV actions, which admit no temporizing, either he wayveth the respect of dutie, or faintly performeth the behest of his superiour upon every slight occasion, either in publike opposing, or in private murmuring : the smallest of which is most pernicious. This much (not amisse) for instruction.

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## SECTION LVI.

THE reason why the admirall came to lee-wardes, as after I Why the Spanish admirall came to lee-ward understood, was for that her artillery being very long, and the wind fresh, bearing a taunt sayle to fetch us up, and to keepe us company, they could not use their ordinance to the weather of us, but lay shaking in the wind : and doubtlesse it is most proper for shippes to have short ordinance, except in the sterne or chase. The reasons are many : viz.—easier charging, ease of the shippes side, better traversing, and mounting ; yea, greater security of the artillery, and consequently of the shippe. For the longer the peece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and so the torment and danger of the peece the greater.

But here will be contradiction by many, that dare avouch that longer peeces are to be preferred ; for that they burne their powder better, and carrie the shotte further, and so necessarily of better execution ; whereas the short artillery many times spend much of their powder without burning, and workes thereby the slenderer effect.

To which I answere, that for land service, fortes, or castles, the long peeces are to be preferred : but for shipping, the shorter are much more serviceable. And the powder in them, being such as it ought, will be all fiered long before the shott can come forth ; and to reach farre in fights at sea, is to little effect. For he that purposeth to annoy his enemy, must not shoot at randome, nor at

Sect. LXL a will to see imaginations put in execution ; for besides the losse of our reputation, liberty, and what good else we can hope for, I know the Spaniard too too well, and the manner of his proceedings in discharge of promises : but only to give satisfaction to the rest of the company, which importuned me to moove this point, I condescended to that which now I am ashamed of, and grieve at, because I see it disliking to you. And here I vowe to fight it out, till life or lymmes fayle me. Bee you pleased to recommend us to Almightye God, and to take comfort in him, whom I hope will give us victory, and restore you to health and strength, for all our comforts, and the happy accomplishing and finishing of our voyage, to his glory."

I replied : "This is that which beseemeth you ; this sorteth to the opinion I ever held of you : and this will gaine you, with God and man, a just reward. And you the rest, my deere companions and friends, who ever have made a demonstration of desire to accomplish your duties, remember that when we first discryed our enemy, you shewed to have a longing to proove your valours against him : now that the occasion is offered, lay hold of the fore-locke ; for if once shee turne her backe, make sure accompt never after to see her face againe : and as true English men, and followers of the steppes of our forefathers, in vertue and valour, sell your bloods and lives deerely, that Spaine may ever record it with sadnesse and griefe. And those which survive, rejoyce in the purchase of so noble a victory, with so small meanes against so powerfull an enemy."

Hereunto they made answere : that as hitherto they had beene conformable to all the undertakings which I had commanded or counselled, so they would continue in the selfe same dutie and obedience to the last breath ; vowing either to remaine conquercours and free-men, or else to sell their lives at that price which their enemies should not willingly consent to buy them at. And with this resolution,

both captaine and company tooke their leave of me, every one particularly, and the greater part with teares and imbracings, though we were forthwith to depart the world, and never see one the other againe but in heaven, promising to cast all forepassed imaginations into oblivion, and never more to speake of surrendry. Sect. LXI.

In accomplishment of this promise and determination, they persevered in sustaining the fight, all this night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the enemy never left us, day nor night, beating continually upon us with his great and small shott. Saving that every morning, an hower before the breake of day, he edged a little from us, to breath, and to remedie such defects as were amisse, as also to consult what they should doe the day and night following. They resolve to fight it out.

This time of interdiction, we imployed in repayingr our sayles and tacklings, in stopping our leakes, in fishing and wolling our masts and yards, in mending our pumpes, and in fitting and providing our selves for the day to come. Though this was but little space for so many workes, yet gave it great reliefe and comfort unto us, and made us better able to endure the defence: for otherwise, our ship must of force have suncke before our surrendry, having many shot under water, and our pumpes shot to peeces every day. In all this space, not any man of either part tooke rest or sleepe, and little sustenance, besides bread and wine. The enemy breatheth.

In the second dayes fight, the vice-admirall comming upon our quarter, William Blanch, one of our masters mates, with a luckie hand, made a shot unto her with one of our sterne peeces; it carried away his maine mast close by the decke: wherewith the admirall beare up to her, to see what harme shee had received, and to give her such succour as shee was able to spare; which we seeing, were in good hope that they would have now left to molest us The English repaire their defects.

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Advantages  
omitted.

any longer, having wherewithall to entertaine themselves in redressing their owne harmes. And so we stood away from them close by as we could; which we should not have done, but prosecuted the occasion, and brought our selves close upon her weather gage, and with our great and small shot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had been forced to cut all by the board; and it may bee, lying a hull or to le-wards of us, with a few shot we might have suncke her. At the least, it would have declared to our enemies that wee had them in little estimation, when, able to goe from them, we would not; and perhaps bin a cause to have made them to leave us.

But this occasion was let slip, as also that other to fight with them, sayling quarter winds, or before the winde; for having stood off to sea a day and a night, we had scope to fight at our pleasure; and no man, having sea roome, is bound to fight as his enemy will, with disadvantage, being able otherwise to deal with equalitie; contrariwise, every man ought to seeke the meanes hee can for his defence, and greatest advantage, to the annoyance of his contrarie.

Now wee might, with our fore saile low set, have borne upp before the winde, and the enemy of force must have done the like, if he would fight with us, or keepe us company: and then should wee have had the advantage of them. For although their artillery were longer, waightier, and many more than ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waightier and greater shot, was of more importance and of better effect for sinking and spoyling: for the smaller shot passeth through, and maketh but his hole, and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater shaketh and shivereth all it meeteth, and with the splinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt then with his proper circumference: as is plainly scene

The differ-  
ence of shot.

in the battery by land, when the saker, the demy-colverin, the colverin, and demi-cannon (being peeces that reach much further point blanke then the cannon), are nothing of like importance for making the breach, as is the cannon; for that this shot being ponderous, pierceth with difficultie, yea worketh better effects, tormenting, shaking, and overthrowing all; whereas the others, with their violence, pierce better, and make onely their hole, and so hide themselves in the wooll or rampire.<sup>1</sup>

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Their  
effects.

Besides, our ship being yare<sup>2</sup> and good of steeridge, no doubt but we should have played better with our ordinance, and with more effect than did our enemies; which was a great errour, being able to fight with lesse disadvantage, and yet to fight with the most that could be imagined, which I knew not off, neither was able to direct though I had knowne it, being in a manner senselesse, what with my wounds, and what with the agony of the surrendry propounded, for that I had seldome knowne it spoken of, but that it came afterwards to be put in execution.

Errors in  
fight,

The generall not being able to succour his vice-admirall, except he should utterly leave us, gave them order to shift as well as they could for the present, and to beare with the next port, and there to repayre their harmes. Himselfe presently followed the chase, and in short space fetched us up, and beganne a fresh to batter us with his great and small shott. The vice-admirall, having saved what they could, cutt the rest by the bourd, and with fore-sayle and myson came after us also; and before the setting of the sunne, were come upon our broad side, wee bearing all our sayles, and after kept us company, lying upon our weather quarter, and annoying us what shee could.

Here I hold it necessary, to make mention of two things which were most prejudiciall unto us, and the principall

<sup>1</sup> Wool probably means the covering or planking. Rampire (for rampart?) what is now termed the bulwark.

<sup>2</sup> Ready.



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learned  
from the  
Flemings  
and Easter-  
lings.

causes of our perdition; the errors and faults of late dayes, crept in amongst those who follow the sea, and learned from the Flemings and Easterlings. I wish that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redresse them, as occasions shall be offered.

1. To fight unarmed.
2. To drinke to excess.

The one is, to fight unarmed, where they may fight armed. The other is, in coming to fight, to drinke themselves drunke. Yea, some are so madd, that they mingle powder with wine, to give it the greater force, imagining that it giveth spirit, strength, and courage, and taketh away all feare and doubt. The latter is for the most part true, but the former is false and beastly, and altogether against reason. For though the nature of wine, with moderation, is to comfort and revive the heart, and to fortifie and strengthen the spirit; yet the immoderate use thereof worketh quite contrary effects.

In fights, all receipts which add courage and spirit, are of great regard, to be allowed and used; and so is a draught of wine, to be given to every man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for exceeding the same, it offendeth, and enfeebleth the senses, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weaknesse: it dulleth and blindeth the understanding, and consequently depraveth any man of true valour; for that he is disenabled to judge and apprehend the occasion which may be offered, to assault and retyre in time convenient; the raynes of reason being put into the hands of passion and disorder. For after I was wounded, this *ninium* bred great disorder and inconvenience in our shippe; the pott continually walking, infused desperate and foolish hardnesse in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, considered not of any danger, but thus and thus would stand at hazard; some in vaine glory vaunting themselves; some other rayling upon the Spaniards; another inviting his companion to come and stand by him, and not to budge

a foote from him ; which indiscreetly they put in execution, and cost the lives of many a good man, slaine by our enemies muskettiers, who suffered not a man to shew himselfe, but they presently overthrew him with speed and watchfullnesse. For prevention of the second errour, although I had great preparation of armours, as well of prooffe, as of light corseletts, yet not a man would use them ; but esteemed a pott of wine a better defence then an armour of prooffe. Which truely was great madnesse, and a lamentable fault, worthy to be banished from amongst all reasonable people, and well to be weighed by all commanders. For if the Spaniard surpasseth us in anything, it is in his temperance and suffering : and where he hath had the better hand of us, it hath beene, for the most part, through our own folly ; for that we will fight unarmed with him being armed. And although I have heard many men maintaine, that in shipping, armour is of little profit : all men of good understanding will condemne such desperate ignorance. For besides, that the sleightest armour secureth the parts of a mans body, which it covereth from pike, sword, and all hand weapons, it likewise giveth boldnesse and courage : a man armed, giveth a greater and a waightier blow, then a man unarmed ; he standeth faster, and with greater difficultie is to be overthrowne.

And I never read, but that the glistering of the armour hath beene by authors observed, for that, as I imagine, his show breedeth terror in his contraries, and despayre to himselfe if he be unarmed. And therefore in time of warre, such as devote themselves to follow the profession of armes, by sea or by land, ought to covet nothing more then to be well armed ; for as much as it is the second meanes, next Gods protection, for preserving and prolonging many mens lives.

Wherein the Spanish nation deserveth commendation above others ; every one, from the highest to the lowest,

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The Spaniard surpasseth us in temperance.

The use and profit of arming.

exactly observed by the Spanish.

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putting their greatest care in providing faire and good armes. He which cannot come to the price of a corslet, will have a coat of mayle, a jackett, at least a buffe-jerkin, or a privie coate. And hardly will they be found without it, albeit they live and serve, for the most part, in extreame hott countries.

Whereas I have knowne many bred in cold countries, in a moment complaine of the waight of their armes, that they smoothen them, and then cast them off, chusing rather to be shott through with a bullet, or lanced through with a pike, or thrust through with a sword, then to endure a little travaile and suffering. But let me give these lazie ones this lesson, that he that will goe a warre-fare, must resolve himselfe to fight; and he that putteth on this resolution, must be contented to endure both heate and waight: first for the safeguard of his life, and next for subduing of his enemy; both which are hazarded, and put into great danger, if he fight unarmed with an enemy armed.

Armes more  
necessary  
by sea, then  
at land.

Now for mine owne opinion, I am resolved that armour is more necessary by sea then by land, yea, rather to be excused on the shore then in the shippe. My reason is, for that on the shore, the bullet onely hurteth, but in the shippe I have seene the splinters kill and hurt many at once, and yet the shott to have passed without touching any person. As in the galeon in which I came out of the Indies, in anno 1597, in the rode of Tercera, when the Queenes Majesties shippes, under the charge of the Earle of Essex, chased us into the rode, with the splinters of one shott, were slayne, maymed, and sore hurt, at the least a dozen persons, the most part whereof had beene excused, if they had beene armed.

And doubtlesse, if these errours had beene foreseeene, and remedied by us, many of those who were slaine and hurt, had beene on foote, and we inabled to have sustained and maintained the fight much better and longer, and perhaps

at last had freed our selves. For if our enemy had come to  
 bourd with us, our close fights were such, as we were  
 secure, and they open unto us. And what with our cubridge  
 heads, one answering the other, our hatches upon bolts,  
 our brackes in our deckes and gunner room, it was impos-  
 sible to take us as long as any competent number of men  
 had remained: twentie persons would have sufficed for de-  
 fence; and for this, such ships are called impregnable, and  
 are not to be taken, but by surrender, nor to be overcome  
 but with bourding or sinking, as in us by experience was  
 verified. And not in us alone, but in the *Revenge* of the  
 Queenes Majestie, which being compassed round about with  
 all the armado of Spaine, and bourded sundry times by  
 many at once, is said to have sunke three of the armado by  
 her side.<sup>1</sup>

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And in this conflict, having lost all her mastes, and  
 being no other then a logge in the sea, could not be taken  
 with all their force and pollicie, till she surrendred her  
 selfe by an honourable composition.

By these presidents,<sup>2</sup> let governours by sea take speciall  
 care, above all, to preserve their people, in imitation of the  
 French; who carrie many souldiers in their shippes of  
 warre, and secure them in their holdes, till they come to  
 entring, and to prove their forces by the dint of sword.

But here the discreete commanders are to put differ-  
 ence, betwixt those which defend, and those which are to  
 offend, and betwixt those which assault, and those which  
 are assaulted. For, as I have sayd, no government what-  
 soever, better requireth a perfect and experimented com-  
 maunder then that of the sea. And so no greater errour  
 can be committed, then to commend such charges to men  
 unexperimented in this profession.

A difference  
for com-  
manders.

A third and last cause, of the losse of sundry of our men,  
 most worthy of note for all captaines, owners, and carpen-

Race-ships  
of warre  
disliked.<sup>1</sup> See page 102.<sup>2</sup> Precedents.

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Wast  
clothes not  
so usefulas other  
devices.

ters, was the race<sup>1</sup> building of our shippe, the onely fault shee had ; and now a-dayes, held for a principall grace in any shippe : but by the experience which I have had, it seemeth for sundry reasons verie prejudiciall for shippes of warre. For in such, those which tackle the sayles, of force must bee upon the deckes, and are open without shelter or any defence : yet here it will be objected, that for this inconvenience, wast clothes are provided, and for want of them, it is usuall to lace a bonnet, or some such shadow for the men ; worthily may it bee called a shadow, and one of the most pernicious customes that can be used ; for this shadow, or defence, being but of linnen or wollen cloth, emboldeneth many, who without it would retire to better securitie ; whereas, now thinking themselves unseene, they become more bould then otherwise they would, and thereby shot through when they least think of it. Some captaines observing this errour, have sought to remedie it in some of his Majesties shippes ; not by altering the building, but by devising a certaine defence, made of foure or five inch planckes, of five foote high, and sixe foote broad, running upon wheelles, and placed in such partes of the shippe as are most open. These they name blenders, and made of elme for the most part ; for that it shivers not with a shot, as oake and other timber will doe, which are now in use and service : but best it is, when the whole side hath one blender, and one armour of prooffe, for defence of those which of force must labour and be aloft.

This race building, first came in by overmuch homing<sup>2</sup> in of our shippes, and received for good, under colour of making our shippes thereby the better sea-shippes, and of better advantage to hull and tyre : but in my judgement,

<sup>1</sup> The term "race" is here repeated: if not a misprint for *rare*, can "a race ship" mean one built for speed?

<sup>2</sup> Tumbling home (?); applied to the inclination inward, given to a ship's topsides.

it breedeth many inconveniences, and is farre from working the effect they pretend, by disabling them for bearing their cage worke correspondent to the proportion and mould of the shippe, making them tender sided, and unable to carry sayle in any fresh gaile of winde, and diminishing the play of their artillery, and the place for accommodating their people to fight, labor, or rest.

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And I am none of those who hold opinion that the overmuch homing in, the more the better, is commodious and easier for the shippe; and this out of the experience that I have learned, which with forcible reasons I could prove to be much rather discomodious and worthy to be reformed. But withall, I hold it not necessary to discourse here of that particularitie, but leave the consequence to men of understanding, and so surcease.

## SECTION LXII.

ALL this second day, and the third day and night, our captaine and company sustained the fight, notwithstanding the disadvantage where with they fought; the enemy being ever to wind-ward, and wee to lee-ward, their shott much damnifying us, and ours little annoying them; for whensoever a man encountreth with his enemy at sea, in gayning the weather gage, hee is in possibilitie to sinke his contrary, but his enemy cannot sinke him; and therefore hee which is forced to fight with this disadvantage, is to procure by all meanes possible to shoote downe his contraries masts or yards, and to teare or spoyle his tackling and sayles; for which purpose, billets of some heavy wood fitted to the great ordinance, are of great importance. And so are arrows of fire, to bee shott out of slur-bowes, and cases of small shott, joyned two and two together, with

The disadvantage of ships to lee-ward.

And the best remedie.

if they had come to boord with the Spanish high-charged ships, it is not to be doubted but they would have mustred themselves better, then those which could not with their prowesse nor props, have reached to their wastes. The strength of the one cannot be compared with the strength of the other: but in bourding, it goeth not so much in the strength, as in weight and greatnesse. For the greater ship that bourdeth with the lesser, with her mastes, her yardes, her tacklings, her anchors, her ordinance, and with her sides, brused and beateth the lesser to peeces, although the lesser be farre stronger according to proportion.

The *Foresight* of his Majesties, and the *Daintie*, were shippes in their proportions farre more stronger then the carake which was taken by them and their consorts, anno 92: for she had in a manner no strong building nor binding, and the others were strengthened and bound as she was able to affoord; and yet both bourding with her, were so brused, broken and badly handled, as they had like to have sunke by her side, though bourding with advantage to weather-wards of her. But what would have become of them if she should have had the wind of them, and have come aboard to wind-ward of them? In small time, no doubt she would have beaten them under water.

Anno 90, in the fleet under the charge of Sir John Hawkins, my father, comming from the south-wards, the *Hope*, of his Majesties, gave chase to a French ship, thinking her to be a Spaniard. She thought to have freed herself by her sailing, and so would not availe, but endured the shooting of many peeces, and forced the *Hope* to lay her aboard; of which issued that mischief which before I spake off. For in a moment the French ship had all her mastes, yards, and sailes in the sea, and with great difficultie the *Hope* could free herself from sinking her.

In the self-same voyage, neere the ilands of Flores and Corvo, the *Rainbow* and the *Foresight* came foule one of

another; the *Rainbow*, being the greater shippe, left the *Foresight* much torne; and if God had not beene pleased to seperate them, the lesser, doubtlesse, had sunke in the sea; but in these incounters they received little or no hurt. The boarding of the *Rainbow* and *Foresight*, as I was enformed, proceeded of the obstinacie and self will of the captaine or master of the *Foresight*, who would not set sayle in time, to give sea roome to the other, comming driving upon her, for that she was more flotie.<sup>1</sup> This pride I have seene many times to be the cause of great hurt, and is worthy of severe punishment: for being all of one company, and bound every one to helpe and further the good of the other, as members of one body, there ought to be no straying of courtesie; but all are bound to suppress emulation and particular respect, in seeking the generall good of all, yea, of every particular more ingeniously then that of his owne.

Sect. LIX.

Particular respects must give place to the generall.

But in equitie and reason, the le-ward shippe ought ever to give way to the weather most, in hulling or trying, without any exception. First, for that shee advantageth the other in hulling or trying; which is manifest, for that shee to wind-wards drives upon her to le-wards. Secondly, for that the windermost shippe, by opening her sayle, may be upon the other before shee be looked for, either for want of steeridge, not being under way, or by the rowling of the sea, some one sea casting the shippe more to le-wards then ten others. And thirdly, for that the windermost shippe being neere, and setting sayle, is in possibilitie to take away the winde from her to le-wards comming within danger. And this by way of argument, for a hull and under-sayle in stormes and fayre weather, in harbour, or at sea.

Humanitie and courtesie are ever commendable and bene-

<sup>1</sup> Did not hold so good a wind, or drove more easily to leeward.



Sect. LXII. ensigne, and began to parley of our surrendry, with a Spaniard, which Don Beltran appointed for that purpose, from the poepe of the admirall, to offer in his name, the conditions before specified; with his faithful promise and oath, as the king generall, to take us a *buena guerra*, and to send us all into our owne countrey. The promise hee accepted, and sayd that under the same hee yeelded, and surrendred himselfe, shippe, and company. Immediately there came unto me another servant of mine, and told me that our captaine had surrendred himselfe, and our shippe; which understood, I called unto one Juan Gomes de Pineda, a Spanish pilote, which was our prisoner, and in all the fight we had kept close in hold, and willed him to goe to the generall Don Beltran de Castro from mee, to tell him that if he would give us his word and oath, as the generall of the king, and some pledge for confirmation, to receive us a *buena guerra*, and to give us our lives and libertie, and present passage into our owne countrey, that we would surrender ourselves and shippe into his hands; otherwise, that he should never enjoy of us nor ours, any thing but a resolution every man to dye fighting.

With this message I dispatched him, and called unto me all my company, and encouraged them to sacrifice their lives fighting and killing the enemie, if he gave but a fillip to any of our companions. The Spaniards willed us to hoise out our boate, which was shott all to peeces, and so was theirs. Seeing that, he called to us to amaine our sayles, which we could not well doe, for that they were slung, and we had not men inough to hand them. In this parley, the vice-admirall comming upon our quarter, and not knowing of what had past, discharged her two chase peeces at us, and hurte our captaine very sore in the thigh, and maimed one of our masters mates, called Hugh Maires, in one of his armes; but after knowing us to be rendred, hee secured us: and we satisfying them that wee

The English  
surrender.

could not hoise out our boate, nor strike our sayles, the admirall layd us about; but before any man entred, John Gomes went unto the generall, who received him with great curtesie, and asked him what we required; whereunto he made answer that my demand was, that in the Kings name, he should give us his faith and promise to give us our lives, to keepe the lawes of fayre warres and quarter, and to send us presently into our countrey; and in confirmation hereof, that I required some pledge; whereunto the generall made answer: that in the Kings Majesties name, his master, hee received us *a buena guerra*, and swore by God Almighty, and by the habit of Alcantara (whereof he had received knighthood, and in token whereof hee wore in his breast a greene crosse, which is the ensigne of that order), that he would give us our lives with good entreatie, and send us as speedily as he could into our owne countrey. In confirmation whereof, he took of his glove, and sent it to mee as a pledge.

Sect. LXII.

With this message John Gomes returned, and the Spaniards entred and tooke possession of our shippe, every one crying, *Buena guerra, buena guerra! oy por mi, maniana por ti*:<sup>1</sup> with which our company began to secure themselves.

The generall was a principall gentleman of the ancient nobilitie of Spaine, and brother to the Conde de Lemos,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hoy por mi, manana por ti*: which may be freely translated, "My turn to-day, yours to-morrow".

<sup>2</sup> Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio, first Count of Lemos, served in all the wars of John II and Henry IV. His wife, Beatriz de Castro, was heiress of the estate of Lemos. He died in 1483, and was succeeded by his grandson, Don Rodrigo de Castro Osorio, as second Count of Lemos. He served in the war of Granada, and dying, left the title and estates to his daughter Beatriz, who married Denis, the third son of the Duke of Braganza, who was son of the Portuguese Prince Fernando. Their son, Fernando Ruiz de Castro, was the fourth Count of Lemos. His son, Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro Andrada, fifth Count of Lemos, married Leonora, daughter of Don Baltran de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque; and their second son was Don Beltran de Castro, a Knight of

Sect. LXIII. whose intention no doubt was according to his promise; and therefore considering that some bad intreaty, and insolency, might be offered unto me in my shippe, by the common souldiers, who seldome have respect to any person in such occasions, especially in the case I was, whereof hee had enformed himselfe: for prevention, hee sent a principall captaine, brought up long time in Flaunders, called Pedro Alveres de Pulgar, to take care of me, and whilest the shippes were one abourd the other, to bring me into his ship; which he accomplished with great humanitie and courtesie; despising the barres of gold which were shared before his face, which hee might alone have enjoyed if he would. And truely hee was, as after I found by tryall, a true captaine, a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition that I have knowne any Spaniard.

The mildnes  
of a gene-  
ral after  
victorie.

The generall received me with great courtesie and compassion, even with teares in his eyes, and words of great consolation, and commaunded mee to bee accommodated in his owne cabbine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best he could: the like hee used with all our hurt men, six and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse, as true courage, valour, and resolution, is requisit in a generall in the time of battle, so humanitie, mildnes, and courtesie, after victorie.

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SECTION LXIII.

WHILST the shippes were together, the maine-mast of the *Daintie* fell by the bourd, and the people being occupied in

Alcantara, and Governor of Callao. His sister, Teresa, was the wife of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, fourth Marquis of Cañete and Viceroy of Peru.

At the time of the surrender of Sir Richard Hawkins, the Marquis of Cañete was Viceroy of Peru (1590 to 1599), and his brother-in-law, Beltran de Castro, was governor of Callao and General of the Fleet.

us againe; and how that the admirall offered us life  
libertie, and to receive us *a buena guerra*, and to send  
us into our owne countrey. Saying, that if I thought it so  
late, he and the rest were of opinion that we should put  
a flagge of truce, and make some good composition.  
The great losse of blood had weakened me much. The  
moment of my wounds newly received, made me faint, and  
laboured for life, within short space expecting I should  
be up the ghost.

But this parley pearced through my heart, and wounded  
my soule; words failed me wherewith to expresse it, and  
I can conceive it but he which findeth himselfe in the  
agonie. Yet griefe and rage ministered force, and  
used me to breake forth into this reprehension and ex-  
hortation following.

“Great is the crosse which Almighty God hath suffered  
come upon me: that, assaulted by our professed enemies,  
and by them wounded, as you see, in body, lying gasping  
for breath, those whom I reputeth for my friends to fight  
with me; those which I relied on as my brethren to defend  
me in all occasions; those whom I have nourished, che-  
rished, fostered and loved as my children, to succour me,  
helpe me, and to sustaine my reputation in all extremities;  
are they who first draw their swords against me, are they  
which wound my heart, in giving me up into mine enemies  
hands. Whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this  
faintnesse of heart? whence this madnesse? Is the cause  
you fight for unjust? is the honour and love of your prince  
and countrey buried in the dust? your sweet lives, are  
they become loathsome unto you? will you exchange your  
liberty for thraldome? will you consent to see that which  
you have sweat for and procured with so great labour and  
adventure, at the dispose of your enemies? can you content  
your selves to suffer my blood spilt before your eyes, and  
my life bereft me in your presence, with the blood and

Sect. LXIII. are many, and the most uninhabited; and those which have people, have some negroes, slaves unto the Spaniards, which occupie themselves in labour of the land, or in fishing for pearles.

Fishing for  
pearles.

In times past, many enriched themselves with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The manner of fishing for pearles is, with certaine long pinaces or small barks, in which there goe foure, five, sixe, or eight negroes, expert swimners, and great deevers,<sup>1</sup> whom the Spaniards call *busos*; with tract of time, use, and continuall practise, having learned to hold their breath long under water, for the better atchieving their worke. These throwing themselves into the sea, with certaine instruments of their art, goe to the bottome, and seeke the bankes of the oysters in which the pearles are ingendred, and with their force and art remouue them from their foundation; in which they spend more or lesse time, according to the resistance the firmnes of the ground affordeth. Once loosed, they put them into a bagge under their armes, and after bring them up into their boates. Having loaden it, they goe to the shoare; there they open them and take out the pearles: they lie under the uttermost part of the circuite of the oyster, in rankes and proportions, under a certaine part, which is of many pleights and folds, called the ruffe, for the similitude it hath unto a ruffe.

The pearles increase in bignes as they be neerer the end or joynt of the oyster. The meate of those which have these pearles is milkie, and not very wholesome to be eaten.

In anno 1583, in the island of Margarita, I was at the dregging of pearle oysters, after the manner we dregge oysters in England: and with mine owne hands I opened many, and tooke out the pearles of them, some greater, some lesse, and in good quantitie.

How the pearle is ingendred in the oyster, or mussell,

<sup>1</sup> Divers.

for they are found in both, divers and sundry are the opinions, but some ridiculous: whereof, because many famous and learned men have written largely, I will speake no more then hath beene formerly spoken, but referre their curious desires to Pliny, with other ancient and moderne authors.

They are found in divers parts of the world, as in the West Indies, in the South sea, in the East Indian sea, in the Straites of Magellane, and in the Scottish sea.

Sect. LXII

The places where pearls are found.

Those found neere the pooles<sup>1</sup> are not perfect, but are of a thick colour; whereas such as are found neere the line, are most orient and transparent: the curious call it their water: and the best is a cleare white shining, with fierie flames. And those of the East India have the best reputation, though as good are found in the West India; the choice ones are of great valew and estimation; but the greatest that I have read or heard of, was found in these ilands of Pearles; the which king Phillip the Second of Spaine gave to his daughter Elizabeth, wife to Albertus, arch-duke of Austria, and governour of the states of Flaunders; in whose possession it remaineth, and is called *la peregrina*,<sup>2</sup> for the rarenes of it; being as bigge as the pomell of a poinard.

<sup>1</sup> Poles.

<sup>2</sup> The *Peregrina*, *Huerfana*, or *Sola* (as having no equal), was a pearl which the King of Spain had in the royal crown. It was fished up in 1515, in the island of Terarequi (?), and was bought by Pedrarias, the first Governor of Tierra Firma. After his death it became the property of Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, of the house of the Counts of Chinchon, from whom it passed to the Empress Isabel. From that time it was in the royal crown of Spain, until it was burnt, with other precious treasures, when there was a fire in the palace at Madrid in 1734. It was highly prized for its size, its orient lustre, its whiteness, and pellucidness. It was pear-shaped, and weighed 550 carats. In 1691 a pearl was procured at the Darien fishery, as large as the *Peregrina*, which belonged to Don Pedro de Aponte, Conde de el Palmar, a native of the Canaries, who gave it to King Charles II of Spain. Latterly, the two were worn by the Queens of Spain as ear-rings.

## SECTION LXIV.

Sect. LXIV.

The generall continueth his honourable usage towards the sicke and wounded.

In this navigation, after our surrender, the generall tooke especial care for the good intreaty of us, and especially of those who were hurt. And God so blessed the hands of our surgians (besides that they were expert in their art), that of all our wounded men not one died that was alive the day after our surrendry: the number whereof was neere fortie; and many of them with eight, ten, or twelve wounds, and some with more. The thing that ought to move us to give God Almighty especiall thanks and prayses, was that they were cured in a manner without instruments or salves. For the chests were all broken to peeces, and many of their simples and compounds throwne into the sea; those which remained, were such as were throwne about the shippe in broken pots and baggs; and such as by the Divine Providence were reserved, at the end of three dayes, by order from the generall, were commaunded to be sought and gathered together. These, with some instruments of small moment, bought and procured from those who had reserved them to a different end, did not onely serve for our cures, but also for the curing of the Spaniards, being many more then those of our company.

For the Spanish surgians were altogether ignorant in their profession, and had little or nothing wherewith to cure. And I have noted, that the Spaniards, in generall, are nothing so curious in accommodating themselves with good and carefull surgeans, nor to fit them with that which belongeth to their profession, as other nations are, though they have greater neede then any that I do know.

At the time of our surrender, I had not the Spanish tongue, and so was forced to use an interpreter, or the Latine, or French, which holpe me much for the understanding of those which spake to me in Spanish, together with a little smattering I had of the Portugall.

Through the noble proceeding of Don Beltran with us, Sect. LXIV. and his particular care towards me, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and health; my servants, which were on foote, advised me ordinarily of that which past. But some of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the generall, and sayd he did ill to use us so well: that we were Lutherans; and for that cause, the faith which was given us, was not to be kept nor performed. Others, that wee had fought as good souldiers, and therefore deserved good quarter: others nicknamed us with the name of *corsarios*, or pirats; not discerning thereby that they included themselves within the same imputation. Some were of opinion, that from Panama, the generall would send us into Spaine: others sayd that he durst not dispose of us but by order from the vice-roy of Peru, who had given him his authority. This hit the nayle on the head.

To all I gave the hearing, and laid up in the store-house of my memory that which I thought to be of substance; and in the store-house of my consideration, endeavoured to frame a proportionable resolution to all occurants, conformable to Gods most holy will. Withall I profitted my selfe of the meanes which should be offered, and beare greatest probabilitie to worke our comfort, helpe, and remedie. And so as time ministered opportunitie, I began, and endeavoured to satisfie the generall and the better sort in the points I durst intermeddle. And especially to perswade, by the best reasons I could, that we might be sent presently from Panama; alleaging the promise given us, the cost and charges ensuing, which doubtles would be such as deserved consideration and excuse: besides, that now whilst he was in place, and power and authority in his hands, to performe with us, that hee would looke into his honour, and profit himselfe of the occasion, and not put us into the hands of a third person; who perhaps being



Sect. LXL.  
Advantages omitted. any longer, having wherewithall to entertaine themselves in redressing their owne harmes. And so we stood away from them close by as we could; which we should not have done, but prosecuted the occasion, and brought our selves close upon her weather gage, and with our great and small shot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had been forced to cut all by the bourd; and it may bee, lying a hull or to le-wards of us, with a few shot we might have suncke her. At the least, it would have declared to our enemies that wee had them in little estimation, when, able to goe from them, we would not; and perhaps bin a cause to have made them to leave us.

But this occasion was let slip, as also that other to fight with them, sayling quarter winds, or before the winde; for having stood off to sea a day and a night, we had scope to fight at our pleasure; and no man, having sea room, is bound to fight as his enemy will, with disadvantage, being able otherwise to deal with equalitie; contrariwise, every man ought to seeke the meanes hee can for his defence, and greatest advantage, to the annoyance of his contrarie.

The difference of shot. Now wee might, with our fore saile low set, have borne upp before the winde, and the enemy of force must have done the like, if he would fight with us, or keepe us company: and then should wee have had the advantage of them. For although their artillery were longer, waigtier, and many more than ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waigtier and greater shot, was of more importance and of better effect for sinking and spoyling: for the spaller shot passeth through, and maketh but his hole, and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater shaketh and shivereth all it meeteth, and with the splinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt then with his proper circumference: as is plainly seene

in the battery by land, when the saker, the demy-colverin, Sect. LXX.  
the colverin, and demi-cannon (being peeces that reach Their  
much further point blanke then the cannon), are nothing effects.  
of like importance for making the breach, as is the cannon ;  
for that this shot being ponderous, pierceth with difficultie,  
yea worketh better effects, tormenting, shaking, and over-  
throwing all ; whereas the others, with their violence,  
pierce better, and make onely their hole, and so hide them-  
selves in the wooll or rampire.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, our ship being yare<sup>2</sup> and good of steeridge, no  
doubt but we should have played better with our ordinance,  
and with more effect than did our enemies ; which was a  
great errorr, being able to fight with lesse disadvantage, Errors in  
and yet to fight with the most that could be imagined, which fight,  
I knew not off, neither was able to direct though I had  
knowne it, being in a manner senselesse, what with my  
wounds, and what with the agony of the surrendry pro-  
pounded, for that I had seldome knowne it spoken of, but  
that it came afterwards to be put in execution.

The generall not being able to succour his vice-admirall,  
except he should utterly leave us, gave them order to shift  
as well as they could for the present, and to beare with the  
next port, and there to repayre their harmes. Himselfe  
presently followed the chase, and in short space fetched us  
up, and beganne a fresh to batter us with his great and  
small shott. The vice-admirall, having saved what they  
could, cutt the rest by the bourd, and with fore-sayle and  
myson came after us also ; and before the setting of the  
sunne, were come upon our broad side, wee bearing all  
our sayles, and after kept us company, lying upon our  
weather quarter, and annoying us what shee could.

Here I hold it necessary, to make mention of two things  
which were most prejudiciall unto us, and the principall

<sup>1</sup> *Wool* probably means the covering or planking. *Rampire* (for  
rampart ?) what is now termed the bulwark.

<sup>2</sup> Ready.

causes of our perdition: the errors and faults of late days, crept in amongst those who follow the sea, and learned from the Flemings and Easterlings. I wish that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redress them, as occasions shall be offered.

The one is, to fight unarmed, where they may fight armed. The other is, in coming to fight, to drinke themselves drunke. Yea, some are so madd, that they mingle powder with wine, to give it the greater force, imagining that it giveth spirit, strength, and courage, and taketh away all feare and doubt. The latter is for the most part true, but the former is false and beastly, and altogether against reason. For though the nature of wine, with moderation, is to comfort and revive the heart, and to fortife and strengthen the spirit; yet the immoderate use thereof worketh quite contrary effects.

In fights, all receipts which add courage and spirit, are of great regard, to be allowed and used; and so is a draught of wine, to be given to every man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for exceeding the same, it offendeth, and enfeebleth the sences, converting the strength which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakness: it dulleth and blindeth the understanding, and consequently depraveth any man of true valour; for that he is disenabled to judge and apprehend the occasion which may be offered, to assault and retyre in time convenient; the raynes of reason being put into the hands of passion and disorder. For after I was wounded, this *nimium* bred great disorder and inconvenience in our shippe; the pott continually walking, infused desperate and foolish hardnesse in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, considered not of any danger, but thus and thus would stand at hazard: some in vaine glory vaunting themselves; some other rayling upon the Spaniards; another inviting his companion to come and stand by him, and not to budge

a foote from him ; which indiscreetly they put in execution, Sect. LXI.  
 and cost the lives of many a good man, slaine by our  
 enemies muskettiers, who suffered not a man to shew him-  
 selfe, but they presently overthrew him with speed and  
 watchfullnesse. For prevention of the second errour, al-  
 though I had great preparation of armours, as well of proofe,  
 as of light corseletts, yet not a man would use them ; but  
 esteemed a pott of wine a better defence then an armour of  
 proofe. Which truly was great madnesse, and a lament-  
 able fault, worthy to be banished from amongst all reason-  
 able people, and well to be weighed by all commanders.  
 For if the Spaniard surpasseth us in anything, it is in his  
 temperance and suffering : and where he hath had the  
 better hand of us, it hath beene, for the most part, through  
 our own folly ; for that we will fight unarmed with him  
 being armed. And although I have heard many men  
 maintaine, that in shipping, armour is of little profit : all  
 men of good understanding will condemne such desperate  
 ignorance. For besides, that the sleightest armour secureth  
 the parts of a mans body, which it covereth from pike,  
 sword, and all hand weapons, it likewise giveth boldnesse  
 and courage : a man armed, giveth a greater and a waightier  
 blow, then a man unarmed ; he standeth faster, and with  
 greater difficultie is to be overthrowne.

The Spani-  
 ard surpass-  
 eth us in  
 temper-  
 ance.

And I never read, but that the glistening of the armour  
 hath beene by authors observed, for that, as I imagine,  
 his show breedeth terror in his contraries, and despayre to  
 himselfe if he be unarmed. And therefore in time of  
 warre, such as devote themselves to follow the profession  
 of armes, by sea or by land, ought to covet nothing more  
 then to be well armed ; for as much as it is the second  
 meanes, next Gods protection, for preserving and prolong-  
 ing many mens lives.

The use and  
 profit of  
 arming.

Wherein the Spanish nation deserveth commendation  
 above others ; every one, from the highest to the lowest,

exactly ol  
 served by  
 the Spania

## SECTION LXVI.

**Sect. LXVI.** **Short arrows for muskets.** IN this discourse, generall Michael Angell<sup>1</sup> demanded for what purpose served the little short arrowes which we had in our shippe, and those in so great quantitie. I satisfied them that they were for our muskets. They are not as yet in use amongst the Spaniards, yet of singular effect and execution, as our enemies confessed : for the upper worke of their shippes being musket prooffe, in all places they passed through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary disasters ; which caused admiration, to see themselves wounded with small shott, where they thought themselves secure ; and by no meanes could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shott.

Hereof they proved to profit themselves after, but for that they wanted the tampkins, which are first to be driven home before the arrow be put in ; and as they understood not the secret, they rejected them as uncertaine, and therefore not to be used : but of all the shott used now a-dayes, for the annoying of an enemy in fight by sea, few are of greater moment, for many respects, which I hold not convenient to treat of in publique.

## SECTION LXVII.

**John Oxman's voyage to the South sea.** A LITTLE to the south-wards of the iland of Pearle, betwixt seven and eight degrees, is the great river of Saint Buena Ventura. It falleth into the South sea with three mouthes, the head of which is but a little distant from the North sea. In anno 1575, or 1576, one John Oxman,<sup>2</sup> of Plymouth, going into the West Indies, joyned with the Symarons.

<sup>1</sup> See page 340.

<sup>2</sup> Oxenham.

These are fugitive negroes, and for the bad intreatie Sect. LXVII.  
 which their masters had given them, were then retyred into What the  
 the mountaines, and lived upon the spoyle of such Spaniards Symarons  
 as they could master, and could never be brought into are.  
 obedience, till by composition they had a place limmitted  
 them for their freedome, where they should live quietly by  
 themselves. At this day they have a great habitation neere Their  
 Panama, called Saint Iago de Los Negros, well peopled, habitation.  
 with all their officers and commaunders of their owne, save  
 onely a Spanish governour.

By the assistance of these Symarons, hee brought to the Their  
 head of this river, by peecemeale, and in many journeys, a assistance.  
 small pinnace; hee fitted it by time in a warlike manner,  
 and with the choice of his company, put himselfe into the  
 South sea, where his good hap was to meete with a cople  
 of shippes of trade, and in the one of them a great quantitie  
 of gold. And amongst other things, two peeces of speciall  
 estimation: the one a table of massie gold, with emralds,  
 sent for a present to the King; the other a lady of singular  
 beautie, married, and a mother of children. The latter  
 grewe to bee his perdition; for hee had capitulated with John Ox-  
 these Symarons, that their part of the bootie should be man capitu-  
 onely the prisoners, to the ende to execute their malice lateth with  
 upon them (such was the rancor they had conceived against them.  
 them, for that they had beene the tyrants of their libertie).  
 But the Spaniards not contented to have them their slaves,  
 who lately had beene their lords, added to their servitude,  
 cruell entreaties. And they againe, to feede their insatiable  
 revenges, accustomed to rost and eate the hearts of all those  
 Spaniards, whom at any time they could lay hand upon.

John Oxmann, I say, was taken with the love of this lady, His folly  
 and to winne her good will, what through her teares and and breach  
 perswasions, and what through feare and detestation of their of promise.  
 barbarous inclinations, breaking promise with the Symarons,  
 yeelded to her request; which was, to give the prisoners

Sect. LII.

lives of your deere brethren to be unrevenged? Is not an honourable death to be preferred before a miserable and slavish life? The one sustaining the honour of our nation, of our predecessors, and of our societie: the other ignominious to our selves, and reproachful to our nation. Can you be perswaded that the enemy will performe his promise with you, that never leaveth to breake it with others, when he thinketh it advantagious? And know you not, that with him, all is convenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a maxime: that, *nulla fides est servanda cum hereticis*? In which number they accompt us to be. Have you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in Saint John de Ulua, the conditions and capitulations being firmed by the viceroy and twelve hostages, all principall personages given for the more securitie of either party to other? Have you forgotten their promise broken with John Vibao and company, in Florida, having conditioned to give them shipping and victuals, to carry them into their countrey; immediately after they had delivered their weapons and armes, had they not their throats cut? Have you forgotten how they dealt with John Oxnam and his company, in this sea, yeelded upon composition; and how after a long imprisonment, and many miseries, being carried from Panama to Lyma, and there hanged with all his company, as pyrates, by the justice? And can you forget how dayly they abuse our noble natures, which being voyde of malice, measure all by sinceritie, but to our losse; for that when we come to demand performance, they stoppe our mouthes, either with laying the inquisition upon us, or with delivering us into the hands of the ordinary justice, or of the kings ministers. And then urged with their promises, they shrinke up to the shoulders, and say, that they have now no further power over us; they sorrow in their hearts to see their promise is not accomplished: but now they cannot doe us any good office, but to pray to God for us, and to entreat the ministers in our behalfe.

“Came we into the South sea to put out flags of truce? Sect. LX  
 And left we our pleasant England, with all her contentments, with intention or purpose to avayle our selves of white ragges, and by banners of peace to deliver ourselves for slaves into our enemies hands; or to range the world with the English, to take the law from them, whom by our swords, prowesse, and valour, we have alwaies heretofore bin accustomed to purchase honour, riches, and reputation? If these motives be not sufficient to perswade you, then I present before your eyes your wives and children, your parents and friends, your noble and sweete countrey, your gracious soveraigne; all of which accompt yourselves for ever deprived, if this proposition should be put in execution. But for all these, and for the love and respect you owe me, and for all besides that you esteeme and hold dear in this world, and for Him that made us and all the world, banish out of your imagination such vaine and base thoughts; and according to your woonted resolution, prosecute the defence of your shippe, your lives, and libertie, with the lives and libertie of your companions; who by their wounds and hurts are disabled and deprived of all other defence and helpe, save that which lyeth in your discretions and prowesse. And you, captaine,—of whom I made choise amongst many, to be my principall assistant, and the person to accomplish my dutie if extraordinary casualtie should disable me to performe and prosecute our voyage,—tender your obligation; and now in the occasion give testimony, and make prooffe of your constancie and valour, according to the opinion and confidence I have ever held of you.”

Whereunto he made answer: “My good generall, I hope you have made experience of my resolution, which shall be ever to put in execution what you shall be pleased to command me; and my actions shall give testimonie of the obligation wherein I stand bound unto you. What I have done, hath not proceeded from faintnesse of heart, nor from



Sect. LXVIII. score pounds: and for that which I saw at my being in Panama, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our course to fetch the port of Panama, wee put our selves betwixt the iland and the maine: which is a goodly channel, of three, foure, and five leagues broad, and without danger, except a man come too neare the shoare on any side; and that is thought the better course, then to goe a sca-boord of the ilands, because of the swift running of the tydes, and the advantage to stop the ebbe: as also for succour, if a man should happen to bee becalmed at any time beyönd expectation, which happeneth sometimes.

The generall certefieth the *Audiencia* of his successo.

The seventh of July wee had sight of Perico: they are two little ilands which cause the port of Panama,<sup>1</sup> where all the shippes used to ride. It is some two leagues west north-west of the cittie, which hath also a pere<sup>2</sup> in itselſe for small barkes; at full sea it may have some sixe or seaven foote water, but at low water it is drie.

The great joy of the Spaniards.

The ninth of July wee anchored under Perico, and the generall presently advised the *Audiencia* of that which had succeeded in his journey: which, understood by them, caused bonfires to be made, and every man to put lumina-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Hawkins was at old Panama, the city destroyed by Morgan in 1671. When it was rebuilt the site was removed about four miles. The tower of the church of San Geronimo, in the ruins of the old town, still rises above the forest, but the place is entirely abandoned and overgrown. The harbour is formed by several islands called *Isla de Naos*, *Perico*, and *Flamencos*, and the anchorage is called *Perico* because it is in front of the second island.

Old Panama was one of the richest cities in Spanish America. It had eight monasteries, two splendid churches and a cathedral, a fine hospital, 200 richly furnished houses, nearly 5000 houses of a humbler kind, a Genoese chamber of commerce, 200 warehouses, and was surrounded by delicious gardens and country houses, now all covered by a dense and impervious forest. After three weeks of rapine and murder, the buccaneer marched out of the ruined city on February 24th, 1671, with 175 laden mules and over 600 prisoners. In 1673 Don Alonzo Mercado de Villacosta founded the present city of Panama.

<sup>2</sup> Pier.

ries in their houses. The fashion is much used amongst the Spaniards in their feasts of joy, or for glad tidings; placing many lights in their churches, in their windowes, and galleries, and corners of their houses; which being in the beginning of the night, and the cittie close by the sea-shore, showed to us, being farre of, as though the cittie had been on a light fire. Sect. LXVII

About eight of the clocke, all the artillery of the citty was shott off, which wee might discerne by the flashes of fire, but could not heare the report; yet the armado being advised thereof, and in a readinesse, answered them likewise with all their artillery; which taking ende, as all the vanities of this earth doe, the generall settled himselfe to dispatch advise for the King, for the vice-roy of Peru, and for the vice-roy of the Nova Spana, for hee also had beene certified of our being in that sea, and had fitted an armado to seeke us, and to guard his coast.

But now for a farewell (and note it), let me relate unto you this secret, how Don Beltran shewed mee a letter from the King, his master, directed to the vice-roy, wherein he gave him particular relation of my pretended voyage; of the ships, their burden, their munition, their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as if he had seene all with his own eyes: saying unto me, "Heereby may you discerne whether the King, my master, have friends in England, and good and speedie advice of all that passeth."

Whereunto I replied: "It was no wonder, for that hee had plentie of gold and silver, which worketh this and more strange effects: for my journey was publique and notorious to all the kingdome." Whereunto hee replied, that if I thought it so convenient, leave should be given mee to write into England to the Queens Majestie, my mistresse, to my father, and to other personages, as I thought good; and leaving the letters open, that he would send some of them in the King's packet, others to his uncle Don Rodrigo

Sect. LXVIII. do Castro,<sup>1</sup> cardinall and archbishoppe of Seville, and to other friends of his; not making any doubt but that they would be speedily in England." For which I thanked him, and accepted his courtesie; and although I was my selfe unable to write, yet by the hands of a servant of mine, I wrote three or foure coppies of one letter to my father, Sir John Hawkins; in which I briefly made relation of all that had succeeded in our voyage.

The dispatches of Spaine and New Spaine, went by ordinary course in ships of advise; but that for the Peru, was sent by a kinseman of the generalls, called Don Francisco de la Cueva.<sup>2</sup>

Which being dispatched, Don Beltran hasted all that ever hee could to put his shippes in order, to returne to Lyma. Hee caused the *Daintie* to be grounded and trimmed; for in those ilands it higheth and falleth some fiftene or sixteene foote water.

And the generall with his captaines, and some religious men being aboard her, and new naming her, named her the *Visitation*, for that shee was rendred on the day on which they celebrate the visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>3</sup> In that place, the ground being plaine and without vantage, whereby to helpe the tender sided and sharpe ships, they are forced to shore them on either side. In the midst of their solemnity, her props and shores of one side fayled, and so shee fell over upon that side suddenly, intreating many of them which were in her, very badly; and doubtlesse, had shee bin like the shippes of the South sea, shee had broken out her bulge:<sup>4</sup> but being without mastes and empty (for in

<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal Rodrigo de Castro was a son of Beatriz, Countess and sole Heiress of Lemos, by her second husband, Don Alvaro Osorio, of the house of Astorga. Rodrigo entered holy orders, became Bishop of Zamora, then of Cuenca, and was Cardinal of the Basilica and of the Twelve Apostles. Finally, he became Archbishop of Seville. His mother, by her first husband, Dionis of Portugal, had a son, Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Count of Lemos, the father of Don Beltran de Castro.

<sup>2</sup> See page 337.

<sup>3</sup> The 2nd of July.

<sup>4</sup> Bilge.

the South sea, when they bring a-ground a shippe, they leave neither masts, balast, nor any other thing aboard, besides the bare hull), her strength was such as it made no great show to have received any damage; but the feare shee put them all into was not little, and caused them to runne out of her faster than a good pace. Sect. LXVIII.

In these ilands is no succour nor refreshing; onely in the one of them is one house of strawe, and a little spring of small moment. For the water, which the shippes use for their provision, they fetch from another iland, two leagues west north-west of these, which they call Taboga,<sup>1</sup> having in it some fruite and refreshing, and some fewe Indians to inhabite it.

What succeeded to mee, and to the rest during our imprisonment, with the rarities and particularities of the Peru and Terra Firme, my voyage to Spaine, and the successe, with the time I spent in prison in the Peru, in the Tercera, in Seville, and in Madrid, with the accidents which befell me in them, I leave for a second part of this discourse, if God give life and convenient place and rest, necessary for so tedious and troublesome a worke: desiring God, that is Almightye, to give his blessing to this and the rest of my intentions, that it and they may bee fruitefull to His glory, and the good of all: then shall my desires be accomplished, and I account myselfe most happie. To whom be all glory, and thankes, from all eternitie.

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<sup>1</sup> A charming island about twelve miles from Panama, which belonged to the Canon Fernando Luque, the partner with Pizarro and Almagro in the project for the conquest of Peru.

— a will to see imaginations put in execution; for besides the losse of our reputation, liberty, and what good else we can hope for, I know the Spaniard too too well, and the manner of his proceedings in discharge of promises: but only to give satisfaction to the rest of the company, which importuned me to moove this point, I condescended to that which now I am ashamed of, and grieve at, because I see it disliking to you. And here I vowe to fight it out, till life or lymmes fayle me. Bee you pleased to recommend us to Almighty God, and to take comfort in him, whom I hope will give us victory, and restore you to health and strength for all our comforts, and the happy accomplishing and finishing of our voyage, to his glory."

I replied: "This is that which beseemeth you; this sorteth to the opinion I ever held of you: and this will gaine you, with God and man, a just reward. And you the rest, my deere companions and friends, who ever have made a demonstration of desire to accomplish your duties, remember that when we first discryed our enemy, you shewed to have a longing to proove your valours against him: now that the occasion is offered, lay hold of the fore-locke; for if once shee turne her backe, make sure accompt never after to see her face againe: and as true English men, and followers of the steppes of our forefathers, in vertue and valour, sell your bloods and lives deerely, that Spaine may ever record it with sadnesse and griefe. And those which survive, rejoyce in the purchase of so noble a victory, with so small meanes against so powerfull an enemy."

Hereunto they made answer: that as hitherto they had beene conformable to all the undertakings which I had commanded or counselled, so they would continue in the selfe same dutie and obedience to the last breath; vowing either to remaine conquerours and free-men, or else to sell their lives at that price which their enemies should not willingly consent to buy them at. And with this resolution,



A  
SPANISH ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE NAVAL ACTION  
BETWEEN  
SIR RICHARD HAWKINS  
AND  
DON BELTRAN DE CASTRO.

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[From the *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Cuarto Marques de Cañete*; por Dr. Don Christobal Suarez de Figueroa (Madrid, 1614), Lib. v.]

SEVERAL ships, commanded by English pirates, entered the South Sea in the time of former Viceroy, whose audacity was rewarded with success in the shape of prizes and notable plunder. The first who, entering by the Strait of Magellan, coasted along the land from south to north, was Francisco Draque. His Queen, Isabel, sent him with three ships well armed and provisioned. Each ship had a crew of two hundred men, besides ten young gentlemen, who wished to perform the voyage with the object of seeing the world, and of showing their valour on such occasions as might offer themselves. He left the port of Plemua<sup>1</sup> to pass into the South Sea, and seek the above strait.

Having reached the strait after various events which have already been related by others, he passed it alone in the *Capitana*.<sup>2</sup> While he was ranging over those seas and before he arrived at Callao, the port for which he was making, he fell in with a ship of Arica, the port of Potosi. She was coming from Callao, unarmed, and not expecting the appearance of pirates, laden with bars of iron and some gold. Draque boarded her,<sup>3</sup> and giving good treatment to all, he

<sup>1</sup> Plymouth.

<sup>2</sup> The Admiral's ship.

<sup>3</sup> February 1578.



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a will to see imaginations put in execution; for besides the losse of our reputation, liberty, and what good else we can hope for, I know the Spaniard too too well, and the manner of his proceedings in discharge of promises: but only to give satisfaction to the rest of the company, which importuned me to moove this point, I condescended to that which now I am ashamed of, and grieve at, because I see it disliking to you. And here I vowe to fight it out, till life or lymmes fayle me. Bee you pleased to recommend us to Almighty God, and to take comfort in him, whom I hope will give us victory, and restore you to health and strength for all our comforts, and the happy accomplishing and finishing of our voyage, to his glory."

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day, the 11th of October, 1579. After having traversed the straits, and tarried a little in unknown ports, describing and surveying them with care, they proceeded (according to orders) on their way to Spain, to give a complete and full account of the position and character of the strait, of its narrow parts, and of all that navigation. Thus laden with new information, they reached Cape San Vicente.<sup>1</sup>

Draque continued his voyage, and arrived at the Malucos. He anchored at Ternate,<sup>2</sup> where he had trade in cloves, and made a treaty of perpetual friendship with the king and queen. He then sailed for the coast of Guinea and Cape Verde, and continuing his course to his native land, he arrived there in triumph,<sup>3</sup> with two ships laden with silver, gold, spices, and other riches. He delivered all to the Queen, without being richer by his robberies nor more esteemed by reason of his acts.

After this, in the time of Don Fernando de Torres, Conde de Villar and Viceroy of Peru,<sup>4</sup> the Englishman, Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Sarmiento first went in chase of Drake as far as Panama, but, supposing that the English ship was returning by the way he came, the Spanish commander then made for the Straits of Magellan. Sarmiento had orders to make a minute and careful survey of the straits and of all the approaches. The instructions were drawn up with minute care by the Viceroy Toledo, and journals were kept in accordance with them. One of these journals was published in 1768—*Viaje al estrecho de Magallanes por el Capitan Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa en los años 1579 y 1580*. Sarmiento sighted Cape St. Vincent on August 15th, 1580, and on his arrival in Spain he proposed to Philip II that the straits should be fortified, to prevent the English from passing. His plan was approved. A great fleet was despatched from Seville, under the command of Diego Flores de Valdes, and Sarmiento went in one of the ships to plant a colony in the straits. It was not until 1584 that Sarmiento landed with four hundred men and thirty women; but he was soon afterwards driven out of the strait by a gale, leaving the colonists on shore. He was taken prisoner by the English and brought to London in 1585, but was liberated by order of the Queen. Sarmiento was afterwards serving in the Philippine Islands.

<sup>2</sup> November 3rd, 1579.

<sup>3</sup> September 26th, 1580.

<sup>4</sup> Don Fernando Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar, succeeded to the

Candi, entered by the same strait.<sup>1</sup> He anchored in the port of Valparaiso (which is the principal port of the kingdom of Chile), and was attacked by a troop of Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> They caught the English off their guard, and, killing fourteen, obliged Tomas to continue his voyage with much despatch. He seized some vessels at anchor, on whose crews he avenged himself for the recent attack. The Viceroy was presently informed of his arrival, and he armed three good ships, which were sent in chase. Other precautions were taken for the pursuit of the pirates, and for giving notice by land and sea. The Audiencia of Quito sent soldiers to Guayaquil, where, finding the enemies on shore, six more were killed.<sup>3</sup> This ship departed full of alarm at this second misfortune, and the ships of Lima, after a fruitless search, arrived at Panama. The Englishman sailed along the coast of Nicaragua, and went thence to the Cape of San Lucas of California, in a height of  $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N.<sup>4</sup> There he waited for the ship *Santa Ana*, that was coming from the Filipinas with a rich cargo. He found her (that sea being pacific) without a sword, and quite secure from such a mishap. Candi went

viceregal chair in 1586, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Cañete in 1590.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cavendish sailed from Plymouth on July 21st, 1586, with three ships, the *Desire* (120 tons), *Content* (sixty tons), and *Hugh Gallant* (forty tons). Cavendish found the colony left in the straits by Sarmiento, but all were dead except eighteen. He cruelly left the survivors to their fate, and proceeded on his voyage. On March 18th, 1587, he arrived at Quintero, close to Valparaiso.

<sup>2</sup> It was on the 1st of April that the watering party of Cavendish was attacked by two hundred Spanish horsemen; and the English acknowledged to the loss of twelve men.

<sup>3</sup> Cavendish was at anchor off the island of Puna, in the Gulf of Guayaquil. Twenty of his men were on shore, scattered about, when they were suddenly attacked by Spanish soldiers who had landed on the other side of the island. Seven of the English were killed, two were drowned, and three taken prisoners. This was on June 2nd, 1587.

<sup>4</sup> Cape San Lucas, the southern point of California, is in  $22^{\circ} 52' N.$  and  $109^{\circ} 53' W.$

might capitulate with the Spanish generall, and to compound the best partido he could by surrendring our selves into his hands, upon condition of life and libertie. This hee declared unto me, being in a manner voyd of sence, and out of hope to live or recover; which considered, and the circumstances of his relation, I answered as I could, that hee might judge of my state, readie every moment to give up the ghost, and unable to discern in this cause what was convenient, except I might see the present state of the shippe. And that the honour or dishonour, the welfare or misery was for them, which should be partakers of life. At last, for that I had satisfaction of his valour and true dealing in all the time hee had served me, and in correspondence of it, had given him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occasions, I bound him, by the love and regard hee ought me, and by the faith and duty to Almighty God, to tell me truely if all were as he had declared. Whereunto he made answer, that hee had manifested unto mee the plain and naked truth, and that hee tooke God to witnesse of the same truth; with which receiving satisfaction, I forced my selfe what I could to perswade him to annimate his companions, and in my name to intreate the captaine and the rest to persevere in defence of their libertie, lives, and reputation, remitting all to his discretion: not doubting but he would be tender of his dutie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his liberty, and the liberty of the company, above all respects whatsoever. As for the welfare hoped by a surrender, I was altogether unlikely to be partaker thereof, death threatning to deprive me of the benefit which the enemy offered; but if God would bee pleased to free us, the joy and comfort I should receive, might perhaps give me force and strength to recover health.

Which answer being delivered to the captaine, hee presently caused a flagge of truce to be put in place of our

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xx. — lives of your deere brethren to be unrevenged? Is not an honourable death to be preferred before a miserable and slavish life? The one sustaining the honour of our nation, of our predecessors, and of our societie: the other ignominious to our selves, and reproachful to our nation. Can you be perswaded that the enemy will performe his promise with you, that never leaveth to breake it with others, when he thinketh it advantagious? And know you not, that with him, all is convenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a maxime: that, *nulla fides est servanda cum hereticis*? In which number they accompt us to be. Have you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in Saint John de Ulua, the conditions and capitulations being firmed by the viceroy and twelve hostages, all principall personages given for the more securitie of either party to other? Have you forgotten their promise broken with John Viles and company, in Florida, having conditioned to give them shipping and victuals, to carry them into their country; immediately after they had delivered their weapons and armes, had they not their throats cut? Have you forgotten how they dealt with John Oxnam and his company, in this sea, yeelded upon composition; and how after a long imprisonment, and many miseries, being carried from Panama to Lyma, and there hanged with all his company, as pyrates, by the justice? And can you forget how dayly they abuse our noble natures, which being voyde of malice, measure all by sinceritie, but to our losse; for that when we come to demand performance, they stoppe our mouthes, either with laying the inquisition upon us, or with delivering us into the hands of the ordinary justice, or of the kings ministers. And then urged with their promises, they shrink up to the shoulders, and say, that they have now no further power over us; they sorrow in their hearts to see their promise is not accomplished: but now they cannot doe us any good office, but to pray to God for us, and to entreat the ministers in our behalfe.

“ Came we into the South sea to put out flags of truce ? Sect. LXI.

And left we our pleasant England, with all her contentments, with intention or purpose to avayle our selves of white ragges, and by banners of peace to deliver ourselves for slaves into our enemies hands; or to range the world with the English, to take the law from them, whom by our swords, prowesse, and valour, we have alwaies heretofore bin accustomed to purchase honour, riches, and reputation ?

If these motives be not sufficient to perswade you, then I present before your eyes your wives and children, your parents and friends, your noble and sweete countrey, your gracious soveraigne ; all of which accompt yourselves for ever deprived, if this proposition should be put in execution. But for all these, and for the love and respect you owe me, and for all besides that you esteeme and hold dear in this world, and for Him that made us and all the world, banish out of your imagination such vaine and base thoughts ; and according to your woonted resolution, prosecute the defence of your shippe, your lives, and libertie, with the lives and libertie of your companions ; who by their wounds and hurts are disabled and deprived of all other defence and helpe, save that which lyeth in your discretions and prowesse. And you, captaine,—of whom I made choise amongst many, to be my principall assistant, and the person to accomplish my dutie if extraordinary casualtie should disable me to performe and prosecute our voyage,—tender your obligation ; and now in the occasion give testimony, and make prooffe of your constancie and valour, according to the opinion and confidence I have ever held of you.”

Whereunto he made answer : “ My good generall, I hope you have made experience of my resolution, which shall be ever to put in execution what you shall be pleased to command me ; and my actions shall give testimonie of the obligation wherein I stand bound unto you. What I have done, hath not proceeded from faintnesse of heart, nor from

xxx. if they had come to boord with the Spanish high-charged ships, it is not to be doubted but they would have mustred themselves better, then those which could not with their prowesse nor props, have reached to their wastes. The strength of the one cannot be compared with the strength of the other: but in bourding, it goeth not so much in the strength, as in weight and greatnesse. For the greater ship that bourdeth with the lesser, with her mastes, her yardes, her tacklings, her anchors, her ordinance, and with her sides, bruseth and beateth the lesser to peeces, although the lesser be farre stronger according to proportion.

The *Foresight* of his Majesties, and the *Daintie*, were shippes in their proportions farre more stronger then the carake which was taken by them and their consorts, anno 92: for she had in a manner no strong building nor binding, and the others were strengthened and bound as art was able to afford; and yet both bourding with her, were so brused, broken and badly handled, as they had like to have sunke by her side, though bourding with advantage to weather-wards of her. But what would have become of them if she should have had the wind of them, and have come aboard to wind-ward of them? In small time, no doubt she would have beaten them under water.

Anno 90, in the fleet under the charge of Sir John Hawkins, my father, comming from the south-wards, the *Hope*, of his Majesties, gave chase to a French ship, thinking her to be a Spaniard. She thought to have freed her selfe by her sailing, and so would not availe, but endured the shooting of many peeces, and forced the *Hope* to lay her aboard; of which issued that mischief which before I spake off. For in a moment the French ship had all her mastes, yards, and sailes in the sea, and with great difficultie the *Hope* could free herselfe from sinking her.

In the self-same voyage, neere the ilands of Flores and Corvo, the *Rainbow* and the *Foresight* came foule one of

another; the *Rainbow*, being the greater shippe, left the *Foresight* much torne; and if God had not beene pleased to seperate them, the lesser, doubtlesse, had sunke in the sea; but in these incounters they received little or no hurt. The boording of the *Rainbow* and *Foresight*, as I was enformed, proceeded of the obstinacie and self will of the captaine or master of the *Foresight*, who would not set sayle in time, to give sea roome to the other, comming driving upon her, for that she was more flotie.<sup>1</sup> This pride I have seene many times to be the cause of great hurt, and is worthy of severe punishment: for being all of one company, and bound every one to helpe and further the good of the other, as members of one body, there ought to be no straying of courtesie; but all are bound to suppress emulation and particular respect, in seeking the generall good of all, yea, of every particular more ingeniously then that of his owne.

Sect. LIX.

Particular respects must give place to the generall.

But in equitie and reason, the le-ward shippe ought ever to give way to the weather most, in hulling or trying, without any exception. First, for that shee advantageth the other in hulling or trying; which is manifest, for that shee to wind-wards drives upon her to le-wards. Secondly, for that the windermost shippe, by opening her sayle, may be upon the other before shee be looked for, either for want of steeridge, not being under way, or by the rowling of the sea, some one sea casting the shippe more to le-wards then ten others. And thirdly, for that the windermost shippe being neere, and setting sayle, is in possibilitie to take away the winde from her to le-wards comming within danger. And this by way of argument, for a hull and under-sayle in stormes and fayre weather, in harbour, or at sea.

Humanitie and courtesie are ever commendable and bene-

<sup>1</sup> Did not hold so good a wind, or drove more easily to leeward.



· ficial to all, whereas arrogancie and ambition are ever  
- accompanied with shame, losse, and repentance.

And though in many examples, touching this point, I have beene an eye witnesse, yet I will record but one, which I saw in the river of Civill,<sup>1</sup> at my comming out of the Indies amongst the galleons loaden with silver. For their wafting, the king sent to the Tercera, eight new galleons, under the charge of Villa Viciosa, who entring the barre of Saint Lucar joyntly, the shippes loaden with silver, anchored in the middest of the river in deeper water, and the wafters on either side, neere the shoare. The admirall of the wafters rode close by the galleon in which I was, and had moored her selfe in that manner, as her streame, cable, and anchor, overlayed our land-most. And winding up with the first of the flood, shee her selfe in one of her cables, which together with the great currant of the ebbe, and force of the winde which blewe fresh, caused her to drive, and to dragge home her anchors; and with that which overlay ours, to cause us to do the like. Whereupon, on both sides was crying out to veere cable: we, for our parts, had lost all our cables in the Terceras, saving those which were a-ground, and those very short, and vered to the better end. The admirall strained courtesie, thinking the other, though loaden with silver, bound to let slippe one, so to give him way; and the generall standing in his gallery, saw the danger which both shippes ranne into, being in a manner bourd and bourd, and driving upon the point of the shoare: yet he commanded to hold fast, and not to vere cable, till he was required and commanded in the kings name, by the captaine of our shippe; protesting the damage which should ensue thereof to the king and merchants, to runne upon the admirals accompt;

<sup>1</sup> Seville was formerly the emporium of the trade of the new world: since the Guadalquiver has become unnavigable for large vessels, its trade has been transferred to Cadiz.

and that in his shippe he had no other cable but those Sect. LIX.  
 which were aground, and that they had vered as much as  
 they could: which the generall knowing, and at last better  
 considering, willed to vere his cable end for end, and so,  
 with some difficultie and dispute, the punto was remedied;  
 which if he had done at first he had prevented all other  
 danger, inconvenience, and dispute, by only weighing of  
 his cable and anchor after the gust was past, and letting it  
 fall in a place more commodious: whereas, his vaine glory,  
 stoutnesse, and selfe-will, had put in great perill two of the  
 kings shippes, and in them above two millions of treasure.  
 And it may be, if he had beene one of the ignorant gene-  
 ralls, such as are sometimes employed, whereas he was one  
 of best experience, I doubt not but they would have stood  
 so much upon their puntos, as rather then they would have  
 consented to vere theyr cables (for that it seemed a dimin-  
 ution of authoritie), they would rather have suffered all to goe  
 to wracke, without discerning the danger and damage.

But to returne to my former point of advantage, which Doubts and  
objections  
resolved.  
 the greater shippe hath of the lesser, I would have it to be  
 understood according to occasion, and to be understood of  
 ships of warre with ships of warre; it being no part of my  
 meaning to maintaine that a small man of warre should  
 not bound with a great shippe which goeth in trade. For I And the  
duty of a  
small ship  
against a  
greater.  
 know, that the war-like shippe that seeketh, is not only  
 bound to bound with a greater, but were shee sure to hazard  
 her selfe, shee ought to bound where any possibility of sur-  
 prising may be hoped for. Witnesse the Biscaine shippes  
 of five hundreth tunnes, taken by shippes of lesse than a  
 hundreth. Such were those which were taken by captaine  
 George Reymond, and captaine Greenfield Halse; both  
 wonne by bourding and force of armes. And did not  
 Markes Berry, with a shippe of four-score tunnes, by  
 bourding and dent of sword, take a shippe which came  
 from the Nova Hispania, of neere foure hundreth tunnes?

sidering that the two other ships, with which he appeared at Arica, would be a hindrance to his voyage, he had brought them no further.<sup>1</sup> The pirate, without leaving his position, sent his captain to reconnoitre the vessels that had come in sight. He did so, and approached within a little less than a cannon shot. Don Beltran, at the same time, had ordered his Admiral Lorenzo de Heredia to advance with the *Galizabra* to meet the enemy. He also gave instructions that, as his vessel was small, he should take up a position inshore, while, at the same time, Don Beltran selected a station to seaward of the enemy. The *Almiranta* fired off three pieces which, without doing any harm to the reconnoitring vessel, merely served to warn him that the strangers were enemies. The English captain returned, with sails and oars, to where Ricardo was waiting for him; and delivered a brief report of what had happened. Instantly weighing his anchors, and sounding a loud trumpet, Ricardo then came forth to do battle with the strangers. As he approached, the *Capitana* discharged the guns on the port side, and then going about fired two guns, from the poop, the shot from which hit the English ship. Presently the *Galizabra* came up, and discharging six guns at one time, the mizen was cut away and fell into the sea. The pirate sheered off, and again opening fire, two negros and two sailors on board the *Capitana*, who were on the poop hauling aft the sheet, were cut in two near the bitts. This discharge was followed up so quickly by another that the ship of Don Beltran de Castro was hardly pressed. At this time the *Galizabra*, which had been chasing the launch, came up with the intention of running into the enemy, but the attempt turned out badly; for Ricardo defended his ship with renewed valour, shooting away the main mast of his assailant and killing fourteen men.

The ships then sheered off from each other somewhat and,

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. He had no other ships with him at Arica.

the damage of his enemy. For in case he excuse himself Sect. LX.  
 with this allegation, it cannot but redound to his condemnation and disreputation. And I assure all men, that in any reasonable equalitie of shipping, we cannot desire greater advantage, then we have of the Spaniards by bourding. The reasons why, I hold it not convenient to discourse in particular; but experience and tract of time, with that which I have seen amongst them, hath taught me this knowledge; and those who have seene their discipline, and ours, cannot but testifie the same.

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SECTION LX.

AGAINE, all that which hath beene spoken of the danger of Courses of  
artillery  
after bourding.  
 the artillery in bourding, it is not to be wrested nor interpreted, to cut of utterly the use of all artillery after bourding, but rather I hold nothing more convenient in shippes of warre, then fowlers and great bases in the cage workes, and murderers in the cobridge heads; for that their execution and speedie charging and discharging, is of great moment.<sup>1</sup>

Many I know have left the use of them, and of sundry Disuses of  
engines of  
antiquitie  
 other preventions, as of sherehookes, stones in their toppes, and arming them; pikebolts in their wales, and divers other engines of antiquitie. But upon what inducement, I cannot relate, unlesse it be because they never knew their effects and benefit; and may no doubt be used without the inconveniences before mentioned in great ordinance. As also such may be the occasion, that without danger some of the great artillery may be used, and that with great

<sup>1</sup> Fowlers, murderers, etc., were pieces of cannon of the nature of swivels, adapted to close combat. The "cobridge heads" seem to have been bulk heads across the fore and after parts of the vessel.

The prize was a ship of 400 tons, most beautiful in all her parts. She carried for arms on the stern a negress with gilt ornaments. Miguel Anjel Filipon repaired her that night, lest she should go to the bottom, as she was badly damaged, for this purpose heaving her to. Captain Pulgar<sup>1</sup> captured Ricardo, who was sent on board the *Capitana* with others of highest rank. They arrived at Panama on the following day,<sup>2</sup> where they were well received by Don Francisco de Cardenas,<sup>3</sup> the President of that Chancery. The wounded were brought into the city, some in litters and others on horseback, while those who were unhurt remained with the prisoners, in the street of the caulkers.<sup>4</sup> The victorious Don Beltran caused the refit of the ships to be hurried forward, and he sent forward the news of his success to the Viceroy. Finally, he departed for Lima and, on arriving at Payta, he received an order from the Marquis that Captain Plaza should bring the English prisoners to Callao in a ship that was waiting there. In all there were 120. Out of these ninety escaped out of the battle, and of these seventeen were wounded. In the *Capitana* there were five killed and four wounded. In the *Galizabra* twenty-three were killed, twelve wounded, and six burnt or scorched.

In this action two things happened which are worthy of memory. One was that while the enemy was playing on the *Capitana* with his artillery, a ball hit the port main tack and then killed a gunner who was loading a piece, and

<sup>1</sup> Pedro Alvarez de Pulgar, "a principal captain brought up long time in Flanders", as Sir Richard tells us.

<sup>2</sup> The distance from the bay of San Mateo to Panama is five hundred miles; and the passage must have occupied nearer a fortnight than a day. San Mateo is in 1° 10' N. and 80° 35' W. Panama in 9° N. and 79° 28' W. Sir Richard tells us that they did not sight the Pearl Islands until the twelfth day. They anchored off Panama on July 9th.

<sup>3</sup> The Licentiate Francisco de Cardenas was the tenth President and Governor of Tierra Firme. He died at Panama in 1594.

<sup>4</sup> Calle de los calafates.

with us againe; and how that the admirall offered us life and libertie, and to receive us *a buena guerra*, and to send us into our owne countrey. Saying, that if I thought it so meete, he and the rest were of opinion that we should put out a flagge of truce, and make some good composition. The great losse of blood had weakened me much. The torment of my wounds newly received, made me faint, and I laboured for life, within short space expecting I should give up the ghost. Sect. LXI.

But this parley pearced through my heart, and wounded my soule; words failed me wherewith to expresse it, and none can conceive it but he which findeth himselfe in the like agonie. Yet grieve and rage ministered force, and caused me to breake forth into this reprehension and execution following.

“Great is the crosse which Almighty God hath suffered to come upon me: that, assaulted by our professed enemies, and by them wounded, as you see, in body, lying gasping for breath, those whom I reputeth for my friends to fight with me; those which I relyed on as my brethren to defend me in all occasions; those whom I have nourished, cherished, fostered and loved as my children, to succour me, helpe me, and to sustaine my reputation in all extremities; are they who first draw their swords against me, are they which wound my heart, in giving me up into mine enemies hands. Whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this faintnesse of heart? whence this madnesse? Is the cause you fight for unjust? is the honour and love of your prince and countrey buried in the dust? your sweet lives, are they become loathsome unto you? will you exchange your liberty for thraldome? will you consent to see that which you have sweat for and procured with so great labour and adventure, at the dispose of your enemies? can you content your selves to suffer my blood spilt before your eyes, and my life bereft me in your presence, with the blood and

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A

SPANISH ACCOUNT OF THE NAVAL ACTION

BETWEEN

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS AND DON BELTRAN  
DE CASTRO.

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[From the *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Cuarto Marques de Cañete*; por Dr. Don Christobal Suarez de Figueroa (Madrid, 1614), Lib. v.]

SEVERAL ships, commanded by English pirates, entered the South Sea in the time of former Viceroys, whose audacity was rewarded with success in the shape of prizes and notable plunder. The first who, entering by the Strait of Magellan, coasted along the land from south to north, was Francisco Draque. His Queen, Isabel, sent him with three ships well armed and provisioned. Each ship had a crew of two hundred men, besides ten young gentlemen, who wished to perform the voyage with the object of seeing the world, and of showing their valour on such occasions as might offer themselves. He left the port of Plemua<sup>1</sup> to pass into the South Sea, and seek the above strait.

Having reached the strait after various events which have already been related by others, he passed it alone in the *Capitana*.<sup>2</sup> While he was ranging over those seas and before he arrived at Callao, the port for which he was making, he fell in with a ship of Arica, the port of Potosi. She was coming from Callao, unarmed, and not expecting the appearance of pirates, laden with bars of iron and some gold. Draque boarded her,<sup>3</sup> and giving good treatment to all, he

<sup>1</sup> Plymouth.

<sup>2</sup> The Admiral's ship.

<sup>3</sup> February 1578.



which the natives thought they found the answer for the loss of the cargo, was answered by what he had just said, and, without uttering anything else, which he received for himself a present as full as his circumstance. Observing that the natives were still in confusion, he said to them that they should cast off all care, seeing that they lived in so good and rich a land. With this he left them in their vessels and went to Callao, where he came to anchor, the other ship being there likewise. The people were in great confusion of which he made full and proceeded to the coast of Nicaragua. On an island called Isla del Cabo, on the coast of Costa Rica, there is abundance of wood and water. Here he landed the ship, and, without hurrying himself, he then stayed a course towards the west.

Owing to this invasion, which the Englishmen made with such promptitude and audacity, Don Francisco de Toledo,<sup>1</sup> then Viceroy of Peru, and in all time an able administrator, whose orders as being both just and convenient, still retain observance in those parts as municipal laws, dispatched ships under the command of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, with Anton Paulo Cerezo, as chief pilot, who had already fought with the English pirate on other occasions; that they might despoil him, if possible, of the great plunder he had taken from the lands and ships of the king. They set sail in search, with suitable instructions, on a Sun-

<sup>1</sup> February 15th, 1572.

<sup>2</sup> He was at the Isla del Cabo from March 16th to 24th, 1579. For mention of this island, see Funnell's account (Dampier, iv, p. 89). It lies S.E. of the Gulf of Nicoya.

<sup>3</sup> Francisco de Toledo was a younger son of the Count of Oropesa, and a relation of the Duke of Alva. He became Viceroy of Peru in 1569, and held the office till 1581. Toledo was an able administrator, and his *Ordenanzas* formed the basis of the code of Peruvian laws during Viceregal times. He especially attended to legislation respecting the mines and coca plantations. But his memory is execrated in Peru, because, from motives of policy, he ordered the judicial murder of the gallant young Tupac Amaru, the last of the Yucas.

ay, the 11th of October, 1579. After having traversed the straits, and tarried a little in unknown ports, describing and surveying them with care, they proceeded (according to orders) on their way to Spain, to give a complete and full account of the position and character of the strait, of its narrow parts, and of all that navigation. Thus laden with new information, they reached Cape San Vicente.<sup>1</sup>

Drake continued his voyage, and arrived at the Malucos. He anchored at Ternate,<sup>2</sup> where he had trade in cloves, and made a treaty of perpetual friendship with the king and queen. He then sailed for the coast of Guinea and Cape Verde, and continuing his course to his native land, he arrived there in triumph,<sup>3</sup> with two ships laden with silver, gold, spices, and other riches. He delivered all to the Queen, without being richer by his robberies nor more esteemed by reason of his acts.

After this, in the time of Don Fernando de Torres, Conde de Villar and Viceroy of Peru,<sup>4</sup> the Englishman, Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Sarmiento first went in chase of Drake as far as Panama, but, supposing that the English ship was returning by the way he came, the Spanish commander then made for the Straits of Magellan. Sarmiento had orders to make a minute and careful survey of the straits and of all the approaches. The instructions were drawn up with minute care by the Viceroy Toledo, and journals were kept in accordance with them. One of these journals was published in 1768—*Viaje al estrecho de Magallanes por el Capitan Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa en los años 1579 y 1580*. Sarmiento sighted Cape St. Vincent on August 15th, 1580, and on his arrival in Spain he proposed to Philip II that the straits should be fortified, to prevent the English from passing. His plan was approved. A great fleet was despatched from Seville, under the command of Diego Flores de Valdez, and Sarmiento went in one of the ships to plant a colony in the straits. It was not until 1584 that Sarmiento landed with four hundred men and thirty women; but he was soon afterwards driven out of the strait by a gale, leaving the colonists on shore. He was taken prisoner by the English and brought to London in 1585, but was liberated by order of the Queen. Sarmiento was afterwards serving in the Philippine Islands.

<sup>2</sup> November 3rd, 1579.

<sup>3</sup> September 26th, 1580

<sup>4</sup> Don Fernando Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar, succeeded to t

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I.

Journal of William Hawkins, Lieutenant-General in  
Fenton's Voyage, intended for the East Indies, 1582.

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[British Museum MS., Otho E. viii. Manuscript much mutilated by  
fire.]

.....x]ixth of Maye 1582 we departed from.....

The seconde of Juyñ 1582 wee departed out of.....  
into w<sup>ch</sup> porte wee came by meanes of a contra[rie.....  
theare the generall wolde have left behind hym Mr. T.  
..... Blackcoller Pilatte w<sup>th</sup> Capiteyne Drake, Will-  
yam ..... and the barke ffrancys: saying that he  
had better ma..... wyth imborde then auny of those,  
and that yf neede weare ..... put in w<sup>th</sup> ffalmo<sup>th</sup> for  
as good as they. The company ..... sayed, that  
they wold not go to sea wythout them, by .....  
knewe the voyage must be perfourmed, and made mar  
..... Then they seeing the Bark ffranncys comyng  
towardses ..... they did cast about.

After my comyng aborde agayne, because I lefte Kyrk-  
man ..... me for querelling I had not from that tyme  
till my comyng ..... any good countenaunce.

The xvi<sup>th</sup> of Juyñ 1582 wee had sight of the Canaries.

The xxvi<sup>th</sup> of the same monethe we fell with Bonavista  
one of the Islandes of Cape de Verde wheare we might haue  
watered, but they wolde not staye.

The xx<sup>th</sup> of Julye 1582 we fell w<sup>th</sup> the coast of Guynny:  
the wether was heave, so fowle as for foure or fyve daies we  
colde not take the heigthe.

end of them, wishing to depart, he came to an agreement with the people regarding the ransom of their vessels; without considering that he was setting those at liberty who could give notice of his arrival. Such was the opinion he had of his ship (as being so well armed and manned), and so cheap did he hold the maritime resources of all Peru. The Viceroy, Don Garcia, received news of this with all despatch, and although the tidings found him in bed, suffering from an attack of illness, he rose up at once, his first care being to send orders to collect the guards of lances and arquebuses at the port of Callao, to the end that it might be secure. He also gave commissions, as captains, to three soldiers who were experienced in martial affairs. Their names were Pulgar, Manrique, and Plaza. They had orders to raise a hundred soldiers each, and to man the ships which were being fitted out with all despatch. The Marquis, not altogether relying upon the diligence of the officers whom he had sent, went himself with a few attendants, on the following day, to see after everything, in spite of a fit of gout which he was suffering from at the time.

He made arrangements, on his arrival, for all necessary stores being provided for the equipment of the ships, and caused a packet to be despatched at once to convey the news, with all diligence, from port to port, so that the enemy might take no one unawares, and then to proceed onward to Guatemala and Mexico. He sent another vessel to Panama, that Don Fernando de Cordova might be ready with his squadron to hinder the Englishman if he should attempt to pass that way. Having made these arrangements by sea, the Viceroy sent various *chasquis* (who are very swift Indian couriers on foot) up the coast, ordering them also to go inland, so that all people might be on the look out for the pirate, and that he might not be able to escape by any means.

He then put Lima in a state of defence, for he desired

above all things to take advantage of this occasion to prove his power. Callao was left, by the Viceroy, in charge of Doctor Alonzo, a native of Castile, and senior Judge of the Royal Audience of Lima, as his lieutenant. The Doctor was distinguished for his learning and virtue, and fit for any charge that might be entrusted to him, careful, active, and efficient. Every afternoon two companies of guards entered the city, the recruits being exercised in the use of arms almost every day. Besides these and other important preparations, three strong ships were fitted out with everything necessary for the work they were to do. Sixty bronze pieces were divided between the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta*; four others being assigned as a broadside for the galleon *San Juan*. The three above-named captains, having raised their men, proceeded with them to the port, ready to embark the moment the order was given. Besides this body of three hundred men, several young gentlemen volunteered for the service, among whom were Lorenzo de Heredia, who embarked with ten soldiers maintained at his own cost; and Don Francisco de la Cueva,<sup>1</sup> with almost as many raised on the same terms.

The Viceroy nominated Don Beltran de Castro y de la Cueva,<sup>2</sup> as commander of the expedition, a son of the Count of Lemos, and his own brother-in-law. Don Beltran was an officer of distinguished talent and capacity equal to the greatest undertakings; as was proved by his former services. He was at Milan in the days when that province was governed, with so much ability, by his uncle, Don Gabriel de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque.<sup>3</sup> Knowing his

<sup>1</sup> A kinsman of the General Don Beltran de Castro. See p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Castro was his paternal surname, and La Cueva that of his mother.

<sup>3</sup> Don Beltran's mother, the Countess of Lemos, was Doña Leonora de la Cueva, a daughter of Don Beltran de la Cueva, third Duke of Albuquerque; and sister of Francisco, the fourth Duke. The wife of the fourth Duke was Constance de Leyva, daughter of Antonio de

talent, the Duke appointed him, when only twenty-two years of age, to the command of an army which was sent by order of His Majesty to take Pinal. The selection of Don Beltrán, by the Viceroy, as General of the expedition, was approved by all, and he was not long before his deeds justified the appointment. He was scarcely appointed before he set out for the port, and devoted himself to the preparation of the fleet, without ever leaving the sea shore, night or evening.

He completed the fitting out with marvellous rapidity, so that in the course of eight days all was ready, a thing almost incredible when the amount of work to be done is considered. The Viceroy was of opinion that, of the two kinds of war, the offensive is always better than the defensive. He was accustomed to say that the assailant finds himself prepared and provided with everything necessary for the encounter, while he who waits to be attacked is generally unready, because he has to make preparations and defend himself by force. He would add too that, after a long march, there is deterioration in all the equipment of soldiers, in provisions, artillery, and stores, and everything else necessary for defence; while the men on the defensive, are not working of their own accord but from necessity. Moreover, the towns that are threatened suffer infinitely from constant fear of life, without any hope of gain.

At last the three galleons were ready and well provided with soldiers, priests, arms, stores, and provisions, and they only waited for favourable weather to make sail. In the meanwhile the Marquis wished to honour the expedition with his presence. He, therefore, went to Callao and, getting into his baot, pulled towards the ships. On his approach the ships fired off all their pieces, and very high mountains of smoke ascended, while cheers resounded on all sides.

Don Juan, Prince of Asculi, Governor of Milan, and Captain-General of

The names of those w<sup>ch</sup> semed willing .....  
 ..... of Decembre to go through the  
 Straights ..... in two dayes weare  
 cleane turned the ..... yet to vs un-  
 known: are

The Generall.	The Edwards two .....
Luke Warde.	The M <sup>r</sup> of the E .....
Nich <sup>as</sup> Parker	
Richard Maddock Preacher	
Chr <sup>st</sup> ofer Hall M <sup>r</sup> of the Gallyon	

The names of such as gaue not their con-  
 sen[t] ..... go back: becawse they  
 knewe that yf the oport..... and time  
 of the yeare weare neglected: ..... not  
 possible oure voyage sholde be made for  
 ..... Molocos; becawse o<sup>r</sup> men and  
 victuells weare ..... everye daye to  
 decaye.

Willm. Hawkins  
 John Walker mynyster  
 Thomas }  
 Thomas Blackoller } Pilots  
 Mathew Talbuthe  
 John Drake  
 Richard Farewether M<sup>r</sup> of the ffancys.

The xx<sup>th</sup> of Decembre 1582 oure Generall Bare vp w<sup>th</sup> St.  
 Vincents being in heigth 33 degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The next daye the  
 wynde was contrarye to go to the northwardes and so con-  
 tynued three .....  
 xi<sup>th</sup> and xii of the clock .....  
 xx<sup>th</sup> of Januarye we ankered in .....

In the harbrough the Portingales daylie reported .....  
 ..... that they weare nowe the King of Spayne his Subjects  
 ..... fore they durst not neyther wolde they traffique





was a heavy sea, so that the work was performed with difficulty, as the beach is full of large pebbles. There were many accidents, and people were killed and hurt in going off to the ships. The Viceroy, in great anxiety, rode up and down the seashore on horseback, watching the embarkation, and he saw one man in extreme peril. His humanity would not allow him to neglect his accustomed office, so, getting off his horse, and rushing into the water up to his knees, he strove to save the man. Fired by his example, others dashed into the sea without regard to their costly clothes, and the soldiers of the guard doing the same with their halberds, the man was rescued from his perilous position. The embarkation was completed at a distance of two musket shots above the port.

At the first favorable wind the fleet sailed again, approaching the shore whenever there was a chance, to see whether Aquines was cruising under the land, or was at anchor in any bay or creek. A point had scarcely been doubled on a certain day, being the vespers of Santa Isabel,<sup>1</sup> at about four in the afternoon, when the enemy was discovered in the bay of San Mateo, which is on the coast of Esmeraldas.<sup>2</sup>

Aquines saw the two ships and, supposing that they were not men of war, but suited for plunder, he prepared to capture them. He only had one ship and a launch, for con-

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. Sir Richard tells us that the surrender took place on the day of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, which is the 2nd of July. This, no doubt, is correct; but, in other respects, Sir Richard, when he wrote his book, had lost account of the dates. He gives the date of the action as June 22nd. Suarez de Figueroa is wrong about the vespers of Santa Isabel, which are on the 18th of November.

<sup>2</sup> On the coast of the province of Quito. Cape San Francisco is a high bluff, clothed with tall trees. The land then trends north to Galera Point, and thence N.N.E. Atacames is a small town, twelve miles from Point Galera, in 0° 57' 30" N., and fourteen miles N.E. is the entrance to the Esmeraldas river. Verde Point is a clifty bluff, thirteen miles east of Esmeraldas, and the intervening coast forms the bay of San Mateo, in about 1° 10' N. latitude.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The first part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The second part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The third part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The fourth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The fifth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The sixth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The seventh part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The eighth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The ninth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government. The tenth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is a history of the growth of the nation, of the struggles for freedom and independence, and of the development of the government.

the night coming on, those of the King followed Aquines, keeping a good look-out, and firing off their guns from time to time. At dusk they began the work of attending to the wounded, and of throwing the dead into the sea. The *Galizabra* rigged a jury main mast, and in the morning (being the day of the Visitation), she opened fire on the enemy, with all her guns and muskets. Presently Don Beltran came up, also firing off his pieces, but the enemy replied with so terrible a discharge that one ball shot away the figure head and another entered the dead wood, passing out on the other side without doing any harm. Having exchanged these shots, the vessels came along side each other and were so close that the gallant Hawkins himself seized the royal standard by means of a bowline knot which he threw over it. But the attempt failed, as Diego de Avila, Juan Manrique, Pedro de Reinalte, Juan Velazquez, and others came to the rescue, and defended it valorously. The Englishman paid for his audacity by two wounds, one in the neck and the other in the arm, both received from gun shots. At this moment the *Galizabra* attempted to run alongside, but the enemy hurled two harpoons into her sails, and four in-board, killing the *Condestable* and two sailors. The men in the *Galizabra* were not, however, dismayed; but, persevering in their attempt, they grappled the enemy and boarded her. The first to reach her deck were Juan Bantista Montañes and Juan de Torres Portugal, both valiant soldiers. The captain of the ship opposed the entry of Torres with a shield and sword, but, after some blows and wounds dealt on both sides, the Englishman fell on his back, giving place to the Spaniard to pass onwards. Meanwhile, Juan Bantista had killed two and driven others backwards until they were forced into the cabin under the poop, where they continued their resistance with signal courage. Finally they received quarter, the *Capitana* having also boarded, and sent her men into the enemy's ship.

[*Gen*] *eral*. Do thies matters trouble ye .....

*Hawkins*. Generall yo<sup>r</sup> ordre is good I ..... made it at the begynnyng: but being doon ..... weare home it makes the companye in an vproar ..... is an honourable accon overthrowen, yet I thank God that ..... lyeth not in me but wheare as it is, when wee come ..... the Counsell will pearcive it welynough. *Gen*. Yea ..... It is overthrowen because I wolde not play the theefe as ..... the last voyage. *Haw*. When God sendeth vs home ..... ffrauncys and yo<sup>r</sup> must ende that matter, for I haue ..... to do wyth it howbeit I gaue more in action than ..... perhaps yo<sup>r</sup> knowe of, and that maketh me to speake, for ..... undoon by the overthrowe of it: but heare for yo<sup>r</sup> place ..... I do reverence yo<sup>r</sup>, but when we come home, yf yo<sup>r</sup> call ..... Theefe, I will see howe you canne justyfie it: for when we ..... came both fourthe wee weare gentlemen alike. *Gen*. Th[ou] shalt not be so good as I, so long as thou lyvest. *Hawkins*. What make yo<sup>r</sup> of me then? *Gen*. A knave, villeyne, and a Boye. *Haw*. If I weare at home, I wolde not be afearde to followe you in anny grounde in Englande: but heare in this place for quyotness sake I let it passe and will beare every wronge be it never so great. *Gen*. Wilt thowe so? *Haw*. Yea, truelye. Then the general wolde have drawen his longe knyfe and have stabbed Hawkins, and intercepted of that, he tooke vp his longe staffe and thearwith was ronnyng at Hawkins, but the M<sup>r</sup> (Master), M<sup>r</sup> Bannester, M<sup>r</sup> Cotton, and Symon Fernando stayed his ffurye. *Haw*. Truely generall in this place yo<sup>r</sup> a justice, and this becommeth a governo<sup>r</sup> to be a dysordre to the hole. If you canne fynde anny just cawse agaynst me punysh me by yo<sup>r</sup> ordre whiche is prescribed, and let yo<sup>r</sup> weapons passe tille till wee come in place wheare: for he that cannot holde his handes heare is not wourthie of the place, I knowe this is but yo<sup>r</sup> olde quarrell renewed, and so let it go.



.....  
had for the perform ..... ffor w<sup>ch</sup> speache the gouer  
..... haue and whensoever he did see .....  
to absent hymself out of the Generall ..... quyetness  
of the hole as all the compa[n]ye ..... will wytnes  
of my side I doubt not.

Wrytten by me willyam hawkins this vi d[ay]  
.....1583, w<sup>ch</sup> do not desire of myselfe to be  
justy ..... do willingly reserue myselfe to the  
report of the companyes of the Gallion, and of the  
other two shipp[es].

By me William Ha[wkins].

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II.

"A Journal kept by m[e William Hawkins in] my  
voyage to the East I[ndies, beginning the 28 of] March  
a° 1607, concerning all [that happened vnto] the good  
Ship called the [Hector in the saied] Viag°, I  
being Captaine t[hereof]."

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[*Egerton MS.*, 2100.]

1607. MARCH 28. The ship wherin I was Captaine was  
[anchored in the downs] w<sup>th</sup> the dragon Admirall for that  
viage, [where we rode till the] 1<sup>st</sup> day of Aprill and then  
w<sup>th</sup> an Easterly winde we [weighed anchor] and put to sea;  
and vpon the 13th of Aprill we [arrived in Plymouth]  
sound, and there anchored till the 16th of Aprill: [when the  
Dragon] came thither vnto vs, of whom before we had [lost  
the sight].

April 16. The 16th of Aprill at 2 of the clock we sett  
saile w<sup>th</sup> [a prosperous] and faire winde w<sup>ch</sup> blew Easterly,  
and hauing sayld clere out of [the] sound, 2 or 3 houres  
after we hoysted in o<sup>r</sup> boates and vpon [the] 17th of Aprill  
we lost the sight of the landes end, the wind north w<sup>th</sup> a  
small gale.

Apr. 20. We had a West and north west winde and found  
orsclues to be in the height of the north cape and then held  
o<sup>r</sup> course South west and by south.

Apr. 21. We obserued the sonne and found o<sup>r</sup> selues to be  
24 degrees and steered S.S.W.

Apr. 22. We steered S. and by W. w<sup>th</sup> a N. and N.W.  
wynde and then found o<sup>r</sup> selucs to be 40 degrees od  
minutes.

Apr. 27. We w<sup>th</sup> a N. winde steered S. and by W. and found the sunne to be 55 degrees and 25 minutes.

Apr. 28. We w<sup>th</sup> a N. winde and a small gale obserued the sunne and found it in 31 degrees and 26 minutes and helde S.S.W.

Apr. 29. Saluages. We had sight of a small Island called the Saluages and upon the sight wherof we altered o<sup>r</sup> course and steered S. and by E.

Apr. 30. Tenerife. We had a sight of Tenerife and held S. [and about] evening we found [the] grand canaries to be on o<sup>r</sup> broad side.

May 1, 2, 3. We steered S.W. and by S. and S.S.W. and obseruing ..... about t[hat] ..... at noon we found o<sup>r</sup> selves to be entered the [tropic of cancer].

May 6. We still continuing our course in the m[ornin]g ..... we saw an Island called bona Vista and about 4 of the clock [the same day] we saw Mayo, and the 7th day w<sup>e</sup> anchored there to see if there w[e could] find any fresh water and victalles as goates w<sup>ch</sup> that Island only affordeth to refreshe o<sup>r</sup> men, where we bought some, but found no water to serve our turns.

May 8. We set sayle and continued in o<sup>r</sup> course w<sup>th</sup> variable wind and severall .....

May 25. Course held as tyme served till the 25th of May and then o<sup>r</sup> course S.W. w<sup>th</sup> a small E. wynde we observed the sonne to be ..... the equinoctiall line.

May 29. W<sup>th</sup> a scant winde, so that we could hold but E. and E. [by North] and tooke the sonne and found o<sup>r</sup> selves to be und[er 2 degrees].

Jun<sup>e</sup> 2. W<sup>th</sup> an E. wynde as before we found that we [had p] .....

June 6. We had a calme w<sup>th</sup> a small E. wynde and th<sup>t</sup> day [we passed a] small Island called Firnando Laranja at sight [whearof] .....

June 7. We observed the sunne and found o<sup>r</sup> selves to



..... he un[der] ..... minutes to the Southward of the equinoctiall .....

June 8. Were in 5 degrees and 48 minutes.

June 10. The winde scanting came up to the ..... found that we held o<sup>r</sup> course to mu[ch] ..... to the coast of Brasill and so ta[ckt about] ..... close E.N.E. till 4 of the clock and ..... [coming] more Easterly and steering S. and by East w<sup>th</sup> a gusty wynde and [much] rayne w<sup>ch</sup> made us spring o<sup>r</sup> maine top mast and fowle weat[her] all that night and so sayling forward till the [morning] w<sup>th</sup> a slack S.W. wynde we sayled so long till we spyed a small [sail] bearing S.E. of us, so th<sup>t</sup> we were in good hope th<sup>t</sup> it had bin o<sup>r</sup> [pinnacle], but at last toward night she left us and stood in for the shoare of Brasill. [We had] the winde E<sup>ly</sup> and layd S. and by W. and about evening we saw land w<sup>ch</sup> by o<sup>r</sup> observacon we thought to be cape St. Augustine<sup>s</sup> upon the coast of Brasill, bearing on o<sup>r</sup> broade side, and the winde being scant we tackt about at night and stood to seaward.

June 16. Having stood 10 howers to seaward at 4 of the clock in the morning we tackt about agayne; the wynde still at E.S.E. and at 12 of the clock the generall sounded and had ground at 21 fadome whereupon he p<sup>r</sup>esently tackt about finding that to try to windward upon that coast of Brasill was dangerous by reason of the currant and the winde likely to continew.

June 17. There was no hope to advantage o<sup>r</sup> selves, and the 17 or 18 dayes holding to seaward agayne, upon the 18 day we found o<sup>r</sup> selves to be in 8 degrees and 13 minutes.

June 19. The next day in 7 degrees 31 minutes.

June 20. The 20 day we plyed to gett o<sup>r</sup> selves more to the Eastward because upon the coast of Brasill, and from there all the way hitherto, we have a mighty currant w<sup>ch</sup> setteth to the N.W.

June 23. The wynd continewing S.E. and E.E. we plyed to windward and were under 4 degrees.

June 25. The generall and we consulted about o<sup>r</sup> course and in regard of the west windes and great currant w<sup>ch</sup> had drawn us farre to leeward of the small Island called Laranja where o<sup>r</sup> generall fully intended to water and to refresh o<sup>r</sup> men we consulted what course we were best [to hold] for recovery thereof because the winde being likely to continue [the want of] water and refreshing for our men would compel us [to some extr]emity before we could gett the cape w<sup>h</sup> considered we determi[ned] upon o<sup>r</sup> course for recovery thereof if it were possible. .... sayle till the 30th of June and held Southward, the wind scanting upon us and that morning we lookt out to descry the Island being by observation in the latitude and longitude thereof [and observing] the sunne found o<sup>r</sup> selves in 4 degrees 25 minutes and [so continued] till night but could not find the Island being yet to southwardes of it 17 minutes whereby we found that the great currant haddrawn us more westerly then we expected, and that night about [6] of the clock we tackt about to bring o<sup>r</sup> selves to the latitude of the Island againe and so stooode that night. In the morning we cast about againe to Southward the wind E. and by N. and we laye S.E. and by S. and about 10 of the clock not being able to weather Laranja, we tackt about eastward, the wind at S.E. and S.E. and by S. and held o<sup>r</sup> course so till the 7th day.

July 8. The winde continewing found o<sup>r</sup>selves then to be in 10 minutes to the southward of the equinoctiall, and the 8<sup>th</sup> day the wind [S.E.] and by E. we stood eastward and found o<sup>r</sup>selves to be 40 minutes [to the] northward of the equinoctiall.

July 14. 14<sup>th</sup> day the wind at S. and S. by E. The generall and we ..... w<sup>th</sup> the M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> mates what course was fittest [to be ta]ken, who finding themselves w<sup>th</sup>in 140 leagues or there [about from the s]holes of St. Anne gave their opinions that to stande . .... did 24 howers could not be preiudiciall but gainfull unto

honourable voyage (the more ..... the pyttie) was bought and solde by the Spanyards frendes or sp..... themselves before oure comyng out of Englande. Wee think tha[t] they canne scarce aunswere it at their comyng home w<sup>ch</sup> did it : ..... but some of them care not whether ever they see England, or no.

The xix<sup>th</sup> of Decembre 1582 we weare in 33 degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

The same xix<sup>th</sup> of Decembre the generall called Cap<sup>a</sup> Warde w<sup>th</sup> the rest to thinck what was best to be doon in or proceedings : the matter being longe before determynd by thre or foure of them. Then casting a doubt of the Spanyshe Fleete, and of meeting them being as wee afterwarde vnderstoode to be to the northewarde of us 150 legues. This they made a sufficyent cawse to breake of the voyage, alleaging also that they wanted many things the w<sup>ch</sup> they wolde supplye in St. Vincents. This color of oure want and to refreshe, it was nothing but becawse they wolde go back agayne (as we after found it most true) for traffique for sugar, and being in St. Vincents he was not hable longer to deteyne the matter, but it all buist out what myne opynyon was toching oure going back agayne.

For my parte the wants of our victuells every way considered, as of water-casks, wyne, and other necessaryes, we are enforced with gods assistaunce to geeve th' adventure through the Straigtes of Magalan into the South Sea, in hoape of a good releefe for our money : whereas going by Cap Bona speransa, or back agayne for Brasel. There was no hoape to speed for money or love, becawse the contrey ..... also the chiefe time of the yeare ..... gods help, and in his feare to proceede ..... obiection to the contraye to be alleaged ..... Bon speransa or back home agayne, I thinke ..... and other defaltes we as neyther waye hable to .....

The names of those w<sup>ch</sup> semed willing .....  
 ..... of Decembre to go through the  
 Straights ..... in two dayes weare  
 cleane turned the ..... yet to vs un-  
 known: are

The Generall.	The Edwards two .....
Luke Warde.	The M <sup>r</sup> of the E .....
Nich <sup>as</sup> Parker	
Richard Maddock Preacher	
Chr <sup>st</sup> ofer Hall M <sup>r</sup> of the Gallyon	

The names of such as gaue not their con-  
 sen[t] ..... go back: becawse they  
 knewe that yf the oport..... and time  
 of the yeare weare neglected: ..... not  
 possible oure voyage sholde be made for  
 ..... Molocos; becawse o<sup>r</sup> men and  
 victuells weare ..... everye daye to  
 decaye.

Willm. Hawkins  
 John Walker mynyster  
 Thomas  
 Thomas Blackoller } Pilots  
 Mathew Talbuthe  
 John Drake  
 Richard Farewether M<sup>r</sup> of the ffancys.

The xx<sup>th</sup> of Decembre 1582 oure Generall Bare vp w<sup>th</sup> St.  
 Vincents being in heigth 33 degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The next daye the  
 wynde was contrarye to go to the northwardes and so con-  
 tynued three .....  
 xi<sup>th</sup> and xii of the clock .....  
 xx<sup>th</sup> of Januarye we ankered in .....

In the harbrough the Portingales daylie reported .....  
 ..... that they weare nowe the King of Spayne his Subjects  
 ..... fore they durst not neyther wolde they traffique

Aug. 5. The 5 of August being a league a head of o<sup>r</sup> Admirall, wee made land, w<sup>ch</sup> rising not in that form as formerly it had risen at o<sup>r</sup> comming to that place, we bore hard in to make the land more certaine, in w<sup>ch</sup> Roming we had 17, 15, and 12 fadoms and at last but 7 fadoms, then having made the land certain we found it to be a small Island bearing of us N.E. rising like a sugar loafe, then coming by the lee to stay for o<sup>r</sup> Admirall we steered in for the porte of Sera Leon, and steered N.E. and by N. and as we neared the land we haled more Northerly. In this roming we found diversity of depthes, for between a cast of lead we found 3 fadoms shoaling, in this roming we had from 7 to 14 fadoms, then we found o<sup>r</sup>selves to be upon the edge of a sandy bank, lying to the southward of us, and the Channell lyeing to the northward, and having brought o<sup>r</sup>selves into 14 fadoms, we steered N. and N. and by E. and never had lesse than 10 fadoms, and having brought the Islands on o<sup>r</sup> broade sides we came to an anchor in 17 fadoms, where we ridd very well all night.

We anchor  
in Sera  
Leon.

Aug. 6th. The 6th day we weighed, the wind at S., a fine top sayle gale and steered 15, 11, 12, and 13 fadoms, and coming w<sup>th</sup>in 2 leagues of the head land we descryed the breach of a rock, lying a mile to seawards of the point, here our pinnaces being mannd and under sayle sounded before o<sup>r</sup> ship and we boare w<sup>th</sup>in 2 cables lenght of the rock having right against it 12 fadoms. Then we shott w<sup>th</sup>in the point, and never had less than 14 fadoms untill we came to an anchor w<sup>ch</sup> was at 13 fadoms, w<sup>th</sup>in 2 cables lenght of the shoarc, where staying [until] the 13<sup>th</sup> of Septembr we bought certen henns, lymes to make water, and nothing els for there was nothing els there to be had for refreshm<sup>t</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> men, only some fish which we fished for, and having had some conference divers tymes w<sup>th</sup> the contry people and laden as much fresh water as served o<sup>r</sup> turne w<sup>ch</sup> being done we hoysted ankers, and before we went from thence,

upon a faire stone at the watering place, where all ships water that come to that place, we graved o<sup>r</sup> names, the yeare of the Lord, and the month wherein we departed, as we had sene S<sup>r</sup> ffranc<sup>s</sup> drake and Cap<sup>t</sup> Candish that had been there before us had don,<sup>1</sup> and being under sayle the winde at E., we put to Sea steering W. and W.S.W., untill the tide of flood was come, and then came to anchor at 10 fadoms, having sayled about 7 leagues.

September 14. We weighed anchor and sayled from morning till 4 a clock in the afternoon the wind N.N.E. and anchored at 13 or 15 fadoms w<sup>th</sup> a [var]iable wind, we sayled to and fro holding divers courses as the [wind served and] at last sounded and found 25 and 23 fadoms and then [30 and 35] fadoms and at the evening we could find no ground, and then [held .....] divers courses with variable winds, we steered S.S.W. [we then] found o<sup>r</sup>selves upon the 23<sup>th</sup> day to be under 9 degrees.

Sept. 29. Upon the 29 we sterred S.S.W. with a northerly winde and were [in] 6 degrees 33 minutes.

Sept. 30. We were in the latitude of 6 degrees with the winde southerly.

October 2. The wynd a little at large we held our course S.S.W. and by S. and under 5 degrees 40 minutes and the 3 day the wynd slacking we were under 5 degrees 49 minutes and sayling still with variable windes.

Oct. 7. Till the 7<sup>th</sup> day we found o<sup>r</sup>selves to be under 4 degrees 34 [minutes], from the 7<sup>th</sup> day to the 20<sup>th</sup> day we had still variable wyndes and were forced to hold severall courses, and found o<sup>r</sup>selves out of sight of the Dragon, upon the day, but not long after had the sight of her againe, and then found o<sup>r</sup>selves to be under 4 degrees 33 minutes, the next day under 4 degrees 5 minutes, the 14<sup>th</sup> 3 degrees 44 minutes, the 15<sup>th</sup> in 3 degrees 23 m<sup>ts</sup>, the 17<sup>th</sup> in 2 de-

<sup>1</sup> See Captain Keeling's account of this stone, at page 114 of the Hakluyt Society's volume of 1877 (*Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, etc.*)

grees 17 m<sup>ts</sup>, the 18<sup>th</sup> in one degree 33 m<sup>ts</sup>, the 19 in one degree 6 minutes, and the [20<sup>th</sup>] day lyeing S. and S. and by W. we were under 16 m<sup>ts</sup> N. latitude and that evening we crost the lyne about 9 of the clock being the third tyme between England and the Cape bona Speranca, and we had 6 degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$  variation and the Dragon had a degree lesse.

Oct. 24. The 24<sup>th</sup> day the wynde at E. and by S. we lay S. and were in 3 degrees.

Oct. 25. 35<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup> and the next day 4 degrees 15<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup>, the same course the 26<sup>th</sup> we were in 5 degrees 11<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup>, the same course, the 27, in 6 degrees 30<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup> our course S.E.

A colder  
climate.

Oct. 28. The 28 having an E. and by N. winde and lying as before, the Dragon came unto us, to speake with us, the reason was for that we were then drawing into a colder climate, which would preiudice [the health of o<sup>r</sup> men, if provision of warme clothes were not made [for] them whereof some of his men had allready complayned, and then he opened a packe of clothes of the lowest prizes for to [serve] the mens turnes, and willed me to do the like, that day [we were] in 7 degrees 46<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup>.

Oct. 30. The 30<sup>th</sup> day the wynd at N.E. we sterred S.E., and by [E. being in] the latitude of 9 degrees 50<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup>.

November 1. The first day the wynd at N.E. we sterred as before and [were in the] latitude of 12 degrees.

Nov. 2. We were in the latitude of 12 degrees 50 minutes.

Nov. 3. We were in 14 degrees 28 m<sup>ts</sup>, the winde N.E.

Nov. 4. We were in 15 degrees 40<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup>, easterly winde.

Nov. 5. Had 17 degrees.

Nov. 12. The winde at N.E., we sterred S.E., and had the latitude [of 24 degrees] 8 minutes.

Nov. 19. The winde at N.N.W., we layd E. and by S. and E. among ..... the latitude of 31 degrees 11m<sup>ts</sup>.

Nov. 23. The wynd N.W., we sterred E. and were in 33 degrees .....

Nov. 24. We were in 33 degrees 42 m<sup>ts</sup>.

Nov. 25. We were in 34 degrees 54 m<sup>ts</sup>.

Nov. 27. Having a calm the generall dined with me, and there order was by us taken, that in regard that our viage was like to prove somewhat long, to avoyd scarsity of victualls homeward bound from that day forward 2 meales of flesh every week should be abated and in steed thereof other meat allowed, which would not so well keepe as the fleshe.

Abatement  
of 2 meales  
of flesh in a  
week.

Nov. 29. The wynde being northward, we bare E.S.[E., and] E. and by S., and were in 33 degrees 42 m<sup>ts</sup>.

Nov. 30. We were in 34 degrees.

December 5. We were in 35 degrees 24 m<sup>ts</sup>.

Dec. 11. We sterred for the Cape E. and by N., the wind westerly.

Dec. 14. It was calm this day the generall and I consulted together what was fitt to be don in so much as we esteemed o'selves to be about 130 leagues from the Cape, and we agreed by consent, that if the wind were likely to favour us we would go forward and not touch at any place till we came to the Island of St. Laurence, although our long continuance at Sea required speedy meanes of refreshment for strenghtning of o' men, which we purposed to do at Saldania if the wind favoured us not, but in regard of the former consideration, as also for supply of water and expectaçon of hearing somewhat of the pinnasse.

Dec. 15. The wynde being at W.N.W., we steered E. and by S.

Dec. 17. We had a fresh gale of wind at W., and we were under 34 degrees and 32 minutes, and steered E. and by N., and that day at 2 of the clock we saw land Land. bearing E. of us, and we steered in to make the land, and having don, we steered in to double the Cape E.S.E., whereupon the men of the Admirall were desirous to put into Saldania, which the generall hearing, he bare up the helmo, and stood in for the shore. The Master of the ship



seeing that comended his course iudging it to be the safest course for the good of the viage, his reasons were that if in case standing alongst we should meete with S.E. wyndes, which that time of the yeare usually blow and so be forced to lye to and againe o' men already weake with overlong being at Sea and having expected refreshment there, would in one fortnight, partly by reason of discontent for not putting in there and by the scanting of our allowance which our small spare of water, wold enforce us to be so cast downe, as it might worke the utter overthrow of the viage.

Dec. 18. Saldania. In the morning we put into Saldania bay, and came to an anker in 4 fadoms and a halfe water, the Sugerloffe bearing of us W.S.W. and the table S.S.W., in that Roade we found Cap<sup>t</sup> Middleton's name graven upon a stone, who had bene there in that roade the 24 of July last past before our coming thether 1607, where remaining for the space of 14 dayes we refreshed o' men with fresh victualles, for there while we lay attending wind and weather, and filling o' vessels with fresh water, we bought 453 shecpe, 2 oxen, 8 calves, 18 steres, and 47 cowes, and all for 200 Iron hoopes, which cattell were equally divided between both our Shipps, which don and our people well refreshed, upon the

January 1. The first of January the wind being southerly, fitt to cary us forth of the baye, we hoysted anker and sett sayle.

Jan. 3. The wind being large we sterred S.S.E., and were in 34 degrees 50<sup>mts</sup> latitude.

Jan. 4. We were under 35 minutes 53 degrees.

Jan. 5. The wind scanted and we were lying close by N.E., were in latitude of 35 degrees 50<sup>mts</sup>.

Jan. 6. Were in the latitude of 35 degrees 44<sup>mts</sup>.

Jan. 8. The wynd S.W., we were in the latitude of 36 degrees 4<sup>mts</sup>.

.....  
 for the perform ..... the w<sup>ch</sup> speache the goner  
 ..... haue and whensoever he shal see .....  
 ment hymself out of the Generall ..... quietness  
 as hole as all the compa[n]ye ..... will wytnes  
 side I doubt not.

Wrytten by me william hawkins this vi d[ay]  
 .....1583, w<sup>ch</sup> do not desire of myselfe to be  
 justy ..... do willingly reserue myselfe to the  
 report of the companyes of the Gallion, and of the  
 other two shipp[es].

By me William Ha[wkins].

[variation]: This land was iudged to be Punto Primero, or els Baia del Agua.

Jan. 24. We were in 34 degrees 44 m<sup>ts</sup>.

Jan. 25. Being under 34 degrees 51 m<sup>ts</sup> latitude our variation was 6<sup>ds</sup> 33 m<sup>ts</sup>.

Jan. 26. We were in 35<sup>ds</sup> 45<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup> latitude.

Jan. 29. Being under 36<sup>ds</sup> 5<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup> latitude stering E. and by N. we had 8<sup>ds</sup> variation.

Jan. 30. With a variable winde, we were under 36<sup>ds</sup> 34 m<sup>s</sup> latitude.

February 2. With a S.S.W. wynde, we layd E., and by N. we were in the [latitude of] 35<sup>ds</sup> 57 m<sup>s</sup>.

Feb. 3. With a small gale northerly we layd E. and by S., and were in [latitude] of 35<sup>ds</sup> 57 m<sup>s</sup>.

Feb. 4. The wynde at S. and by W., we held E.N.E. and N.E. and by E. and .....

Feb. 5. The wynde continewing thereabout, we sterred as before and were in [latitude] of 33<sup>ds</sup> 37<sup>m<sup>s</sup></sup>.

Feb. 6. The wynde N.E. and by N., and sterring as before we were in 32<sup>ds</sup> [56<sup>m<sup>ts</sup></sup>].

Feb. 7. The wynde N<sup>ly</sup>, we held N.E., and were in 31<sup>ds</sup> 4<sup>m<sup>s</sup></sup> latitude.

Feb. 8. The wynd small and E<sup>ly</sup> we layd close S.E., and were in [the latitude] of 30<sup>ds</sup> 49<sup>m<sup>s</sup></sup> in our course before when we kept nere the s[hore we had] a currant against us which hindered us much so that [when we thought] o<sup>r</sup> selves farre from the land, we were in sight [thereof] ..... having stood of and meeting with a faire wynd [which ..... a weeke: we gest we had found a currant that [furthered us much] ..... having found by tryall, that he which standeth nere the shore ..... and is bound to the eastward worketh in vayne.

Feb. 9. The wynd E<sup>ly</sup> we stood southward till noone lyeing S.E., southerly and S.E. and by S., and being aboard the Admirall we conferred about keeping o<sup>r</sup> selves in a good

birthe. The wyndes contrary lest we should hinder o'selves, by meeting with a contrary currant, at noone, we went about to the northwarde and lay N. and N. and by E.

Feb. 10. We lay Southward with a E<sup>ly</sup> wynd and were in the latitude of 29<sup>ds</sup> 50<sup>m</sup>.

Feb. 11. The wynd E<sup>ly</sup> we were in 29<sup>ds</sup> 5<sup>m</sup> and lay N.E.

Feb. 12. The wynd E<sup>ly</sup> we were in 27<sup>ds</sup> 22<sup>ms</sup>.

Feb. 13, 14, 15. We with an E<sup>ly</sup> wynd, sometymes calm, we sterred Southwards S.E., and then N.E., for St. Laurence, having before sounded often but could find no ground.

Feb. 16. With a S<sup>ly</sup> wynd we sterred N.E. and by E. till noone and then being under 25<sup>ds</sup> 25<sup>ms</sup> latitude we sterred E. and E. by N., and sounded but found no ground.

Feb. 17. The wynde continewing with a stiffe gale we lay E. and E. and by N. about 4 of the clock after dinner we descryed land, bearing of us E. and by S., which we iudged to be the land lyeing between St. Justa and cape Augustin, and having stood in to make the land, we tackt about and stode of till one of the clock, and then stood in for the land againe.

Feb. 18. The wynd continewing a faire gale, and having borne in with the land and haling the Admirall went rome for the bay of St. Augustin, and about noone lay by the Lee, and the Admirall stood in nere the shore, where there was a litle Island, of which Island dew N. lyeth a great breach or rise, and E.N.E. of the Island lyeth a Sandy Shoale or Island, and having made the land and being the latitude of 23<sup>ds</sup> 37<sup>ms</sup> we came to an anchor. (The Admirall first springing his loofe, and which observing stood out againe.) In the offing the Island bearing of us S. and by W. we stood as we had anchored, we consulted with the generall, whether they iudged us to be in the latitude of St. Augustin, and whether the going in that we saw was in their iudgm<sup>to</sup> the port; all of us agreed in one that it was the same place, the Admirall after our opinions whether it was best to touch

there, or to go forward, the tyme of the yeare being then come, that S.E. windes do ordinarily blow, the answer was that some write, the wyndes may yet favo<sup>r</sup> us 2 monthes, other that they may continew a month, but sayd we because we have hitherto found no certenty in reporte, but rather wyndes favoring us at such tymes as all mens opinions were contrary, and because we were not certaine how to find the wyndes standing to the northward, therefore having fallen with that place in faire weather, we thought it very necessary (both for knowledge of the place to the intent we might have it to frend if need required us, also for supply of water and other things we stood in need of) to put into the baye, these reasons considered, we concluded to weigh anchor betymes in the morning, and to stand in if wynd favored. And as we then lay at anker, a hummockle lyeing upon the head land to the Northward, rysing like Westminster Abbey, boare of us N.E. and by E. and the bay whether we intended to put in boare of us E. and by N. here we haue 16 variation.

Feb. 19. The wind at E.N.E. we lay at anker till noone, about which tyme we had the breese of the Sea, and then we waighed and stood in for the baye in 8 and 10 fadome awhile, but more wythin we had a greater depth in some places 100 fadome, and after we anchored in the Bay where we had ozie ground, and very uncertaine depthes, for in some places we had 2 and 23 fadome and hard by 60, in some places more, and there we stayed and bought of the countrie people, 5 calves, 2 sterres, 3 cowes, 3 sheep, and 1 lambe, which was all we could get, and those cost us 19<sup>s</sup>, there we gott water and wood to serve o<sup>r</sup> turnes as well as we could, and in the meane tyme the Admirall lost an anker and a new cable, being galled asunder, and by reason of the deepe water, the anker lay in the oze and could not be recovered. This place spent us 2 ankers, such benefitt did it afford us, which was so highly comended and

had we not touched at Saldania out of doubt our viage had ben in great hazard.<sup>1</sup>

Feb. 28. We weighed anker having a very small gale of the shoare wherewith we stood to seaward, till the breese came, and the 29, we sterred N. and N. and by W. before the winde.

March 1, 2, 3, and 4. With variable wynd and wether stormy, we kept to and fro at Sea.

March 5. In the morning, the wynd large, we lay N. and by E., and then we saw land, bearing of us E. and by S. and then we observed the sonne and found [our]-selues in 22<sup>ds</sup> 26<sup>ms</sup> which was but a small distance from St. Augustin for [6 days] sayling.

March 6. We stered N. and by E. the winde S., and were under 21<sup>ds</sup> 4<sup>ms</sup>.

March 7. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> we were in 18<sup>ds</sup> 47<sup>ms</sup> and stered N. and by W.

March 8. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> we steered N. and W. and N. and were in the latitude of 16<sup>ds</sup> 47<sup>ms</sup> and then we stered N. and by E., and by o<sup>r</sup> recouring the Island of John de Nova,<sup>2</sup> was some 20 leagues Eastward of us on our broad side.

March 9. The winde S<sup>ly</sup> we stered N.N.E. and N.E. and were in the latitude of 16<sup>ds</sup> 40<sup>ms</sup>. That day w<sup>h</sup> (we) lookt into o<sup>r</sup> plots, our Master's plot being a portingale plot, which generall and M<sup>r</sup> Shippon desired to see, because of certaine shoales that appeared in it, which were not sett downe in theirs, which being viewed, we agreed to hold our course N.N.E., and N. and by E. and not to touch any where, before we came [to] Sokotora, unless need required, but allwayes provided to haue Zanzibar and the Islands of Comoro to frend.

March 10. With a S<sup>ly</sup> wynd we steerd as before o<sup>r</sup> latitude, being 15<sup>ds</sup> ½ variation and then we found 15<sup>ds</sup> 23<sup>ms</sup> variation.

<sup>1</sup> This was the Bay of St. Augustine on the S.W. coast of Madagascar.

<sup>2</sup> Johanna.

March 12. The wynd at N.E. we lay close by N.W. and N. and by W., and in the morning we descryed land, being the coast of Mozambique, and after none we nered the same, which lay on o' broad side. Then we consulted with [the] generall, that if we wanted wynde to carry us of we would stand nere the shoare, and come to anker, untill such tyme as we should haue wyndes to serve o' turne, and after that we sounded, and had no ground in 180 fadome, and anone after within to (two) houres we had ground at ..... Then we stood of expecting a land turne to set us to ..... night we lay to and againe, nere the shoare the wynd [being easterly].

March 13. With litle wynd, we were in the latitude of 15<sup>ds</sup> 45<sup>ms</sup> ..... wynd S.E., a small gale, and yet we went againe to the ..... as we p[er]ceived, the cause whereof we iudged to be a tyde in as much [as] we were nere the shoare.

March 14. With a storme at S.E., but not long, we were under [15]<sup>ds</sup> 30<sup>m</sup> lati[tude].

March 15. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> we were in 15<sup>ds</sup> 56<sup>ms</sup> having ben strangely hin[dered] by a currant, for we had a fresh gale of wynde f[or] t[he last] 24 howers, and gained nothing, but rather gon a sterne.

March 16. With a S<sup>ly</sup> wynd, we saw land bearing of us N.W., wh[ereupon we] agreed to steere N.W., and now in 15<sup>ds</sup> 15<sup>ms</sup> Mr Ship[pon iudged] the land to be the first we had se(c)n upon that C[oast].

March 17. We were in latitude of 15<sup>ds</sup> 3<sup>ms</sup> and brought the land ..... to beare of us, N.W. and by W., and now we iudged o[urselves to be out of the] currant, and lay close by N.W. and by W. and W.N.W.

March 18. The wynd N.W. and by N., we lay close N.E. and by N., with [our larboard] a bord, some dozen leagues Northward of the high land we had seen 2 dayes before. This day we saw 6 hommocks, and being in the latitude of

14 degrees and a halfe, we iudged the land we saw, to be the going into Mozambique.

March 19. We were in latitude 14<sup>ds</sup>.

March 21. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> we stered N. and by E., and being in the latitude of 11<sup>ds</sup> [30<sup>ms</sup>] we descryed 3 or 4 Islands, nere the maine, the Southerlyest of them boare of us W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  point Southerly.

March 22. The wind S<sup>ly</sup> we were in the latitude of 9<sup>ds</sup> 58<sup>ms</sup>.

March 24. We determined to put into Zanzibar hoping there to find some good refreshmt, which having missed at St. Augustins, and o<sup>r</sup> men being weake and standing in great need thereof, we thought it most expedient to do, as well for recovery of some sicke men as also setting up o<sup>r</sup> pinnasse.

March 26. We found our selves in the latitude of 5<sup>ds</sup> 20<sup>ms</sup> and we descryed the Island of Pemba a head, the Southerlyest point thereof, boare of us N.W. and by W. wherefore p<sup>r</sup>cieving o<sup>r</sup> selves shot to the northward of Zanzibar, and the wynd Southerly, we boare up and stered away N.E. and by E. for the Island of Sokotora.

March 27. We were in the latitude of 3<sup>ds</sup> 19<sup>ms</sup> whereby we iudged o<sup>r</sup> selves entered into a currant which helped us.

March 28. We were in latitude of 2<sup>ds</sup> 4<sup>m</sup> and had 11<sup>ds</sup> <sup>11 ds. 24 m.</sup> <sub>variation.</sub> 24<sup>ms</sup> variation.

March 29. We were becalmed, and found o<sup>r</sup> selves to be in 1<sup>d</sup> 46<sup>m</sup>.

April 1. The wind calme we descryed the coast of Magadoza along on o<sup>r</sup> broad side, and after that we were in 27<sup>m</sup> of the N. latitude, and having nered the shoare, the wynd dulling, we stered E.

April 2. Being calme, we out of sight of land, we stered N.W. and were in 44<sup>m</sup>.

April 3. We were in the latitude of 1<sup>d</sup> 26<sup>m</sup> and we againe had sight of the coast.



April 4. A S<sup>ly</sup> wynd we went E.N.E. and were in sight of the Shoare, o<sup>r</sup> latitude 1<sup>d</sup> 54<sup>m</sup>.

April 5. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> o<sup>r</sup> course as before, o<sup>r</sup> latitude was 2<sup>ds</sup> 44<sup>ms</sup>.

April 6. The wynd as before, we stered N.E. and by E. o<sup>r</sup> latitude 3<sup>ds</sup> 55<sup>m</sup>.

April 7. As before the wether very calme.

April 8. O<sup>r</sup> latitude was 4<sup>ds</sup> 57<sup>m</sup>.

April 9. The 9<sup>th</sup> we were in 5<sup>ds</sup> 23<sup>m</sup> with a S.E. wynd.

Variation. April 10. The wynd W<sup>ly</sup> we had 6<sup>ds</sup> 18<sup>m</sup> latitude, and that evening o<sup>r</sup> variation was 17<sup>ds</sup> 23<sup>ms</sup>.

April 11. The wynd at S.W., o<sup>r</sup> course N.E. and by E., o<sup>r</sup> latitude was 7<sup>ds</sup> 4<sup>m</sup> [our] variation was 17<sup>ds</sup> 50<sup>m</sup>.

April 12. The wynd N<sup>ly</sup> we held N.W. o<sup>r</sup> latitude 7<sup>ds</sup> 34<sup>m</sup>.

April 13. The wynd E<sup>ly</sup> we lyeing N. and by W. we had 17<sup>ds</sup> 29<sup>m</sup> variation.

April 14. O<sup>r</sup> latitude was 7<sup>ds</sup> 24<sup>m</sup> the wynd S<sup>ly</sup>.

April 15. We agreed to steere more W<sup>ly</sup> because we could not see the coast, so that we doubted that a currant had put us to Leaward, and then towards night we steered N.W., and then o<sup>r</sup> latitude was 7<sup>ds</sup> 49<sup>ms</sup>.

April 16. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> we steered N.W., standing for the coast, o<sup>r</sup> latitude was then 8<sup>ds</sup> 33<sup>m</sup>.

April [17]. We stered N.W., the wynd S<sup>ly</sup>, o<sup>r</sup> latitude 9<sup>ds</sup> and 3<sup>m</sup>, then againe stering W.N.W. to haue the coast, which we descryed about 2 of the clocke bearing W.N.W. with us, and then we stered away N.N.E. and N.E. and by E., for the Island of Socotora. This evening we had 17<sup>ds</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> variation.

April 18. The wynd S.W., we held o<sup>r</sup> course as before, and were in the latitude of 9<sup>ds</sup> 51<sup>m</sup>, and not long after we saw land, which bare of us N.N.W., which we iudged to be some point of the cape Dortny,<sup>1</sup> the southern point thereof did rise like the lizard upon the coast of England, we being

7 ds. 15 m.  
variation.

<sup>1</sup> Dorfu, in the Journal of the *Dragon*, p. 116.

then some 7 leagues S.E. from it, and had 17<sup>ds</sup> 15<sup>m</sup> variation.

April 19. The wynd S.S.E., we stered N.E. and by E., and then descryed an Island to the northward, which we iudged to be Adelcuria, and being in the latitude of 11<sup>ds</sup> 30<sup>m</sup> we saw another Island, bearing of us N.E. and by E., and after that another that bare E. and by N., northerly, and then we lay up E. and by S. and when we came nere the Islands called Los Hermanos,<sup>1</sup> between them we had sight of Socotora, then we kept our loofe awhile purposing to wether the westerlyest point of the Hermanos, but could not and therefore bore up and went to leeward thereof, and being westward thereof about a league, had 17<sup>ds</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> varia-  
17 ds. 16 m.  
variation.
tion.

April 20. Being to the northward of the westerlyest of the Hermanos, and with all near Socotora, we lay close E.S.E. with a S.W. wynd, seeking to wether Socotora but could not, and therefore we hove up and went to the westward thereof, between Socotora and a rocke lyeing to the westward thereof, between Socotora and a rocke lyeing to the Westward with [3] hummocks, and about noone came to an anker to the northward of the westerlyest point of the Island, in 10 fadoms water; in an open Roade, the rocke with 3 hummocks called Savoniza bearing of us N.W. and by W. There we finding no fresh water, we ankered there all night.

April 21. We set sayle againe along the N. side of the Island and stered N.E., and then there opened another bay wherein apeared some low land and we stood in with o' ships, and there had 5 fadoms and 4 fadoms and a halfe; and about 5 a clock we ankered in the bay right against the towne wherein there was a Church with a Portingall Crosse.

April 23. We lay at anker but could gett no refreshing,

<sup>1</sup> The Brothers: two islands S.W. of Socotra.

at night the wind E<sup>ly</sup>, we weighed and stood to Seaward, steering N. and N. and by E., the latitude of this roade was 12<sup>ds</sup> 39<sup>m</sup>.

April 24. With a northerly wynd we standing eastward, we opened a very deepe bay, and having stood in a while to make searche for fresh water and could find none but 2 ponds of brackysh water, in that bay we saw a Church with a portingall Crosse upon it.

April 25. The wynd E<sup>ly</sup> we lay close E.S.E., then the wynd coming W<sup>ly</sup> we still stood E. for the point, and when we had weighed we opened some low land to the Eastward thereof, upon which was a building like unto a fort, between the Sea side and it was a grove of trees and a town.

April 26. We ankered against the Towne which we took for the fort bearing of us S.W<sup>ly</sup> in 11 fadoms water. There we had 10 goates given us.

April 27. We had fresh water brought by slaves from the shoare upon [their] backes. There we spake with a Guzerat ship and understood [them to say] that if we had run 10 or 20 leagues to the Southward we should haue fayled of wyndes either to carry us to Aden or ..... gotten to that Island againe: The Guzerat ..... Moonesone began there the 5<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> of May ..... 4 monthes at least, and therefore wished us [not to staye] ..... at the furthest there.

April 28. We took in fresh water, and bought 20 goates, 15 shepe [and 2 coves of the] Arabians.

April 29. We weighed anker, and put to Seaward with a land tour[ne, the wind] at W.S.W. and were close by N.W.

May. From the first of May to the 15<sup>th</sup> we kept to and fro at [sea] ..... divers windes, and the 13<sup>th</sup> day the wynd continewing ..... and we lyeing at anker before Socotora in the westerlyest ..... place, we tooke counsell with us whether it was best for ..... continew there at anker or to weigh, and to go to sea and

..... Deliza,<sup>1</sup> which is a good roade lyeing to the Eastward ..... place where we had watered, and I was of advice ..... our best way to ryde it out, that we might be ready to take ..... slent of wynd when it came, but o<sup>r</sup> generall was of an[other] opinion, and sayd if we ryde it out, it would danger him anoth[er] cable and an anker, and o<sup>r</sup> Master sayd it would do as much to us if the wynde wexed more westerly. And for these reason, as also for that o<sup>r</sup> shipe grew light and we must take in more ballast, the next morning we weighed, and sett sayle for Deliza.

May 14. The wynd S<sup>ly</sup> we put to Sea and that day ankoured before the towne of Tamery,<sup>2</sup> there we were advised not to ryde in that place, for the violence of wyndes euery day expected, but as [soon] as we had watered, to put for Deliza the next baie.

May 19. We hoysted saile, and made to Deliza where the same day we anchored at 9 fadoms water not farre from the shoare. The point of the land to us westward, bearing N.W. and by W. of us, and the point of land to the eastward, bearing S.E. and by E. of us and there we bought 24 or 25<sup>wt.</sup> of alloes, and there we stayed till the 4 of August, and then weighed anker, the wynd W<sup>ly</sup> we took o<sup>r</sup> course for Cambaya N.E. and by N. and being out at Sea we sterred N.E. and by E.

August 5. We stered N.E. by E. with the same wynd.

Aug. 6. The wind continewing we held o<sup>r</sup> former course, the wynd still encreasing, we took in o<sup>r</sup> maine saile and went under o<sup>r</sup> foresayle, thereby to spend that forcible weather and bad gale before we came upon the Coast of Cambaya.

Aug. 7. By reason the sunne, the daye before, was our Zeneth, and the wether such as o<sup>r</sup> Master could niether observe sunne nor starre, I askt the Master and his mates

<sup>1</sup> Bandar Delishi.

<sup>2</sup> Tamarida.

advice, how they thought it best to work. They sayd considering the weather, it was best to spend some tyme at Sea, before we came nere the Lee shoare; whereupon the Master put the ship a hull, that night we came into white water.

Aug. 10. Continewing our course as before, we found o<sup>r</sup> selves to be in 19<sup>th</sup> 23<sup>m</sup> latitude, and then we layd S. and S. and by E., with a strong gale of wynd at S.W. and the weather hasie, so as the Master durst not put the ship any nerer a Lee shoare till he saw cleare weather and more temperate windes, and because at Surat, we were to ride without the barre, and by all likelyhood open to the Sea and wynde, which being there we feared would be uneasy ryding, being heavy laden with lead and Iron, and the ship not able to endure it, we went to spend some tyme at Sea, till the weather broke up.

Aug. 11, 12. We continewed o<sup>r</sup> course as before.

Aug. [14]. Then we observed the sunne, and found that we were under 20<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>m</sup> latitude, then we altered our course, and stered for Diu, E.S.E., and at night E. and by N., and sounding found no ground.

Aug. 16. The same wynd we stered E. for Diu, and sounding found 22 fadoms water, and then stood in to see the land, N. and by E., but saw it not, then we ran in till we came at 17 fadoms, and then held of S.E. and by E. sounding all night and 16 or 17 fadoms.

Aug. 17. We came to an anker about 2 leagues from the shoare, in 9 fadoms and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ozie ground, but presently o<sup>r</sup> cable brake and o<sup>r</sup> ship drove a mile before we had another ready, the land we foll withall was low land at the sea shore and full of trees, and within high land.

Aug. 19. We weighod anker, and went up with the tide of flud about 5 leagues, and the flud being spent we came again and anchored, then when floud came we weighed and had 13 or 14 fadoms. And as we nered the shoare 10, 11,

degrees and a halfe, we iudged the land we saw. to be  
ing into Mozambique.

March 19. We were in latitude  $14^{\circ}$ .

March 21. The wynd S<sup>r</sup> we stered N. and by E. and  
in the latitude of  $11^{\circ}$  [ $30^{\text{ms}}$ ] we descryed 3 or 4  
Isles, nere the maine, the Southerlyest of them boare of  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  point Southerly.

March 22. The wind S<sup>r</sup> we were in the latitude of  
 $8^{\text{ms}}$ .

March 24. We determined to put into Zanzibar hoping  
to find some good refreshm<sup>t</sup>, which having missed at  
Augustins, and o<sup>r</sup> men being weake and standing in  
at need thereof, we thought it most expedient to do, as  
for recovery of some sicke men as also setting up  
pinnasse.

March 26. We found our selves in the latitude of  $5^{\circ}$   
 $^{\text{ms}}$  and we descryed the Island of Pemba a head, the  
southerlyest point thereof, boare of us N.W. and by W.  
herefore p<sup>r</sup>cieving o<sup>r</sup> selves shot to the northward of Zan-  
ibar, and the wynd Southerly, we boare up and stered  
way N.E. and by E. for the Island of Sokotora.

March 27. We were in the latitude of  $3^{\circ}$   $19^{\text{ms}}$  whereby  
we iudged o<sup>r</sup> selves entered into a currant which helped us.

March 28. We were in latitude of  $2^{\circ}$   $4^{\text{ms}}$  and had  $11^{\circ}$   $11^{\circ}$   $24^{\text{m}}$ .  
 $24^{\text{ms}}$  variation.

March 29. We were becalmed, and found o<sup>r</sup> selves to be  
in  $1^{\circ}$   $46^{\text{ms}}$ .

April 1. The wind calme we descryed the coast of Mag-  
gadoza along on o<sup>r</sup> broad side, and after that we were in  
 $27^{\text{ms}}$  of the N. latitude, and having nered the shoare, the  
wynd dulling, we stered E.

April 2. Being calme, we out of sight of land, we stered  
N.W. and were in  $41^{\text{ms}}$ .

April 3. We were in the latitude of  $1^{\circ}$   $26^{\text{m}}$  and we againe  
had sight of the coast.

sight of the pa[goda] or Banians Idoll, being 4 leagues of us a head, our ship came to anker in 7 fadoms water, the land at our broadside being 2 leagues from us. The pylott told us that there was the place where all our great ships did lade and unlade. The pylott having brought us to the place where we should ryde bad me shoot of a peece or 2 of ordenance for a boate to come aboard us, o<sup>r</sup> pylott told us for o<sup>r</sup> better directions, that we should have a speciall care to fall with the point of Diu, and then to shape o<sup>r</sup> course E. for Daman which [must] be the first land we must see, co<sup>m</sup>ing from Socatora [but] contrary to directions, hauing the wynd allways large [we went] to Leeward very nere 8 leagues, and were in danger of a [wreck ?] which caused the Infidell to say, that o<sup>r</sup> God loued vs [in giuing vs such ?] an escape in so dangerous a place, at th[at time of the year].

Aug. 28. I embarked my selfe for Suratt in our pinnace ..... from thence where we anchored, was thought ..... the downes, which cost vs 2 tydes, being de- cea[ved by the directions we] took.

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seen some 7 leagues S.E. from it, and had 17<sup>ds</sup> 15<sup>m</sup> variation.

April 19. The wynd S.S.E., we stered N.E. and by E., and then descryed an Island to the northward, which we judged to be Adelcuria, and being in the latitude of 11<sup>ds</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> we saw another Island, bearing of us N.E. and by E., and after that another that bare E. and by N., northerly, and then we lay up E. and by S. and when we came nere the Islands called Los Hermanos,<sup>1</sup> between them we had sight of Socotora, then we kept our loofe awhile purposing to wether the westerlyest point of the Hermanos, but could not and therefore bore up and went to leeward thereof, and being westward thereof about a league, had 17<sup>ds</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> variation.  
variation.

April 20. Being to the northward of the westerlyest of the Hermanos, and with all near Socotora, we lay close E.S.E. with a S.W. wynd, seeking to wether Socotora but could not, and therefore we hove up and went to the westward thereof, between Socotora and a rocke lyeing to the westward thereof, between Socotora and a rocke lyeing to the Westward with [3] hummocks, and about noone came to an anker to the northward of the westerlyest point of the Island, in 10 fadoms water; in an open Roade, the rocke with 3 hummocks called Savoniza bearing of us N.W. and by W. There we finding no fresh water, we ankered there all night.

April 21. We set sayle againe along the N. side of the Island and stered N.E., and then there opened another bay wherein appeared some low land and we stood in with o<sup>r</sup> ships, and there had 5 fadoms and 4 fadoms and a halfe; and about 5 a clock we ankered in the bay right against the towne wherein there was a Church with a Portingall Crosse.

April 23. We lay at anker but could gett no refreshing,

<sup>1</sup> The Brothers: two islands S.W. of Socotra.



WIND AT THE POINT

On the 1st of May we weighed anchor and sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north.

On the 2nd of May we sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow.

On the 3rd of May we sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow.

On the 4th of May we sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow.

On the 5th of May we sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow.

On the 6th of May we sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow.

On the 7th of May we sailed for the point of the bay. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow. The wind was from the north. The water was very shallow.

It was twentie daies ere the answer came, by reason of the great waters and raines that men could not passe. In this time, the Merchants, many of them very friendly, feasted me, when it was faire weather that I could get out of doores: for there fell a great raine, continewing almost the time the Messengers were absent, who at the end of twenty daies brought answer from Mocrebchan, with Licence to land my goods, and buy and sell for this present voyage: but for a future Trade, and setting of a Factorie, he could not doe it without the Kings Commaundement, which he thought would be effected, if I would take the paines of two monthes trauell, to deliver my Kings Letter. And further, he wrote vnto his chiefe Customer, that all, whatsoever I brought, should be kept in the Custome-house, till his Brother Sheck Abder Rachim came, who should make all the hast that possibly could bee, for to chuse such goods as were fitting for the King: (these excuses of taking goods of all men for the King, are for their owne private gaine). Vpon this answere, I made all the hast I could, in easing our shippe of her heauy burthen of Lead, and Iron, which of necessitie must be landed. The goodes being landed, and kept in the Customers power, till the comming of this great man; perceiuing the time precious, and my ship not able long to stay, I thought it conuenient to send for three Chests of Money, and with that to buy Commodities of the same sorts, that were vendible at Priaman and Bantam, which the Guzerats carry yearely thither, making great benefit thereof. I began to by against the will of all the Merchants in the Towne, whose grumbling was very much, and complaining vnto the Gouvernour and Customer, of the leaue that was granted me, in buying these Commodities, which would cut their owne throates at Priaman and Bantam, they not suspecting that I would buy Commodities for those parts, but onely for England.

At the end of this businesse, this great man came, who

Excessive  
rain.

advice, how they thought it best to work. They sayd considering the weather, it was best to spend some tyme at Sea, before we came nere the Lee shoare; whereupon the Master put the ship a hull, that night we came into white water.

Aug. 10. Continewing our course as before, we found o' selves to be in  $19^{\text{th}}$   $23^{\text{m}}$  latitude, and then we layd S. and S. and by E., with a strong gale of wynd at S.W. and the weather hasie, so as the Master durst not put the ship any nerer a Lee shoare till he saw cleare weather and more temperate windes, and because at Surat, we were to ride without the barre, and by all likelyhood open to the Sea and wynde, which being there we feared would be uneasy ryding, being heavy laden with lead and Iron, and the ship not able to endure it, we went to spend some tyme at Sea, till the weather broke up.

Aug. 11, 12. We continewd o' course as before.

Aug. [14]. Then we observed the sunne, and found that we were under  $20^{\text{th}}$   $12^{\text{m}}$  latitude, then we altered our course, and stered for Diu, E.S.E., and at night E. and by N., and sounding found no ground.

Aug. 16. The same wynd we stered E. for Diu, and sounding found 22 fadoms water, and then stood in to see the land, N. and by E., but saw it not, then we ran in till we came at 17 fadoms, and then held of S.E. and by E. sounding all night and 16 or 17 fadoms.

Aug. 17. We came to an anker about 2 leagues from the shoare, in 9 fadoms and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ozie ground, but presently o' cable brake and o' ship drove a mile before we had another ready, the land we fell withall was low land at the sea shore and full of trees, and within high land.

Aug. 19. We weighed anker, and went up with the tide of flud about 5 leagues, and the flud being spent we came gain and anchored, then when floud came we weighed and d 13 or 14 fadoms. And as we nered the shoare 10, 11,

or 12 fadoms at last we came into 8 fadoms, and saw [on] the shoare [a] white building which we tooke to be the Banians Church the Guzerat told us of, the which seeing in 8 fadoms water was the tokens they told us of by which we should know when we were nere the barre and where they advised us to anchor, and because at 8 fadoms we found hard and rough ground, we stood of till we came in 9 fadoms and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ozy ground, where we anchored safely, there I caused a peece of Ordinance to be shot of, for a boate to come from the shoare [to us] as the Guzerat had informed me was the manner in that place. That don, we saw the breach from the shoare to Leaward ..... we could see, which we surely thought to be the barre of [Surat] according to the quantity of leagues the boate told us which was [12 leagues]. Then the Master said it was a dangerous place, and sayd that he durst [not] stire with the ship, till he had a pilott from Surat.

Aug. 20. I sent o<sup>r</sup> Pinnaas to Suratt with direçons to keepe aloofe to Leaward and to sound all the way, and when he had the depth of the Barre then to shape his course to the shoareward for Suratt, which by estimaçon as it was told us was 6 leagues.

Aug. 21. We saw a boate at sea, and out of her gott a pylott, which told us, that there we roade in a most dangerous place; among shoales and sande and that we were 30 leagues short of the barre of Suratt, and advised us to put to Sea into 20 fadoms water, where we should haue good ground and be in faire way to ply for Surat, as the tides would give leave, whereupon we weighed, and at night anchored againe at 17 fadoms water.

Aug. 22. We weighed and plyed up the flud within 5 leagues of Damon and anchored at 15 fadoms water.

Aug. 23. We anchored with a N.W. wynde in 11 fadoms water.

Aug. 24. The wynd scant, we sayled till we came in

sight of the pa[goda] or Banians Idoll, being 4 leagues of us a head, our ship came to anker in 7 fadoms water, the land at our broadside being 2 leagues from us. The pylott told us that there was the place where all our great ships did lade and unlade. The pylott having brought us to the place where we should ryde bad me shoot of a peece or 2 of ordenance for a boate to come aboard us, o' pylott told us for o' better directions, that we should have a special care to fall with the point of Diu, and then to shape o' course E. for Daman which [must] be the first land we must see, coming from Socatora [but] contrary to directions, hauing the wynd allways large [we went] to Leeward very nere 8 leagues, and were in danger of a [wreck?] which caused the Infidell to say, that o' God loued vs [in giving vs such?] an escape in so dangerous a place, at th[at time of the year].

Aug. 28. I embarked my selfe for Suratt in our pinnas ..... from thence where we anchored, was thought ..... the downes, which cost vs 2 tydes, being decea[ved by the directions we] took.

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III.

Captaine Williame Hawkins, his Relations of the  
Occurrents which happened in the time of his residence in  
India, in the County (*sic*) of the Great Mogoll, and of  
his departure from thence; written to the Company.

[From Purchas, "*His Pilgrimes*", Lib. III, Chap. vii (p. 206).]

§ I.

His barbarous usage at Surat by Mocrebchan: The Portingals and  
Jesuits treacheries against him.

At my arrivall vnto the Bar of Surat, being the foure and  
twentieth of August, 1608, I presently sent vnto Surat  
Francis Buck, Merchant, with two others, to make knowne  
vnto the Gouvernour, that the King of England had sent me  
as his Embassadour vnto his King, with his Letter and  
Present: I received the Gouvernour's answer, both by them,  
and three of his Seruants sent me from Surat, that he and  
what the Country afforded, was at my command: and that  
I should be very welcome, if I would vouchsafe to come on  
shore. I went accompanied with my merchants, and others,  
in the best manner I could, befitting for the honour of my  
King and Country. At my comming on shore, after their  
barbarous manner I was kindly receiued, and multitudes of  
people following me, all desirous to see a new come people,  
much nominated, but neuer came in their parts. As I was  
neere the Gouvernours house, word was brought me that he  
was not well, being I thinke, rather drunke with affion or  
opion, being an aged man. So I went vnto the chiefe  
Customer, which was the onely man that Sea-faring causes

Captaine  
Keeling and  
he had kept  
company to-  
gether at  
the voyage  
before re-  
lated (and  
not needfull  
to bee re-  
peated) to  
the Roade of  
Delias in So-  
cators,  
whence on  
June 24th  
Captaine  
Keeling de-  
parted in  
the Dragon,  
as you haue  
heard; the  
other in the  
Hector for  
Surat (the  
meane  
while built  
a Pinasse)  
on the  
fourth of  
August,  
hauing re-  
ceiued from  
the Generall  
a duplicate  
of the Com-  
mission  
vnder the  
Great S  
He com-  
meth a

their weapons: and if the Portugals had not been the swifter, both they and their scattered crew (in retiring to their Frigats) had come short home.

The second  
plot.

Another time, they came to assault me in my house with a Friar, some thirty or fortie of them: the Friars comming was to animate the soldiers, and to giue them absolution. But I was alwaies wary, hauing a strong house with good doores. Many troopes at other times, lay lurking for me and mine in the streetes, in that kind, that I was forced to goe to the Gouvernour to complaine, that I was not able to goe about my businesse, for the Portugals comming armed into the Citie to murder me: which was not a custome at other times, for any Portugals to come armed as now they did. He presently sent word to the Portugals, that if they came into the city armed againe, at their owne perils be it. At Mocreb-chan his comming, with a Jesuite named Padre Pineiro in his company (who profered Mocreb-chan fortie thousand Rials of eight, to send me to Daman, as I understood by certaine aduise giuen me by Hassun Ally, and Ally Pom-mory) I went to visit him, giuing him a Present, besides the Present his brother had: and for a time, as I haue aboue written, I had many outward shewes of him, till the time I demanded my money. After that his dissembling was past, and he told me plainely, that he would not giue mee twentie Mamadies per Fare, but would deliuer me back my cloath. Vpon which dealings, I dissembled as well as I could with him, intreating leaue for Agra, to the King, telling him that William Finch was the man that I left as my chiefe in this place: and in what kind soeuer his pleasure was to deale with me, he was the man to receiue either money or ware. Vpon which answer, he gaue me his license and letter to the King, promising me fortie horsemen to goe with me, which hee did not accomplish. After license receiued, the Father put into Mocreb-chan his head, that it was not good to let me passe: for that I would

Padre  
Penciro a  
Jesuite, a  
paterne of  
Jesuiticall  
sanctitie.  
How frank  
would the  
Jesuites  
haue bin to  
Judah, be-  
yond those  
Priests  
which gaue  
but thirty  
pieces for  
the price of  
bloud, and  
those but of  
two shil-  
lings (and)  
six pence  
the piece?  
whereas  
this Jesuite  
offers forty  
thousand  
Royals (who  
can deny  
them Roy-  
all Mer-  
chante?) at  
four shil-  
lings (and)  
six pence  
the piece.

complaine of him vnto the King. This he plotted with Mocreb-chan to ouerthrow my iourney, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said, that he would not let me haue any force to goe with me. And what else hee would haue him to doe, either with my Treuchman and Coachman, to poyson or murther me, if one should faile, the other to doe it: this inuention was put into Mocreb-chans head by the Father. But God for his mercie sake, afterward discovered these plots, and the Counsell of this Jesuite tooke not place. Before the plotting of this, the Jesuite and I fell out in the presence of Mocreb-chan, for vile speaches made by him of our King and Nation, to bee vassals vnto the King of Portugall: which words I could not brooke, in so much, that if I could haue had my will, the Father had neuer spoken more, but I was pre-nented.

Jesuites  
policy.  
Just Jesuit  
same.

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§ II.

His Journey to the Mogoll at Agra, and entertay(n)ment at Court.

Now finding William Finch in good health, newly recovered, I left all things touching the Trade of Merchandizing in his power: giuing him my remembrance and order, what he should doe in my absence. So I began to take vp Souldiers to conduct mee, being denyed of Mocreb-chan, besides Shot and Bow men that I hired. For my better safety, I went to one of Chanchanna his Captaines, to let mee haue fortie or fiftie Horsemen to conduct me to Chanchanna, being then Vice-Roy of Decan, Resident in Bramport, who did to all his power all that I demanded, giving me valient Horsemen Pattens,<sup>1</sup> a people very much feared in these parts: for if I had not done it, I had beene ouer-throwne. For the Portugals of Daman had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs a Raga, who was absolute Lord of a Pro-uince, (betweene Daman, Guzerat and Decan) call Cruly,

<sup>1</sup> Patans.



Dayta  
another  
province.

They use to  
trauell two  
houres  
before day.

The Jesuites  
bloudie plot  
discovered.  
Virtus an  
vitus, quis  
in Jesuita  
requirat?

M. Hawkins  
departeth  
from Sur-  
att the first  
of February  
1608.

to be ready with two hundred Horsemen to stay my passage: but I went so strong and well provided, that they durst not encounter with vs: so likewise that time I escaped. Then at Dayta, another Province or Principedome, my Coachman being drunke with certaine of his kindred, discovered the Treason that hee was hired to murder me: he being overheard by some of my Souldiers, who at that present came and told me, and how it should be done in the morning following, when we begin our trauell: (for wee use to trauell two houres before day) vpon which notice, I called the Coachman vnto me, examining him, and his friends, before the Captaine of the Horsemen I had with mee: who could not deny; but he would neuer confesse who hired him, although hee was very much beaten, cursing his fortune that he could not effect it: for he was to doe it the next morning, so I sent him Prisoner vnto the Gouvernour of Suratt.

But afterward by my Broker or Truchman, I vnderstood that both hee and the Coachman were hired by Mocreb-chan, but by the Fathers perswasion, the one to poyson me, and the other to murder me: but the Truchman receiued nothing till he had done the deed, which hee neuer meant to doe, for in that kind hee was alwayes true vnto mee: thus God preserued me. This was five dayes after my departure from Suratt, and my departure from Suratt was the first of February 1608. So following on my trauels for Bramport, some two dayes beyond Dayta, the Pattans left me, but to be conducted by another Pattan Captaine, Gouvernour of that Lordship, by whom I was most kindly entertained. His name was Sherchan, being sometime a Prisoner vnto the Portugal, and hauing the Portugall Language perfect, was glad to doe mee any service: for that I was of the Nation that was enemie vnto the Portugall. Himselfe in person, with fortie Horse-men, went two dayes iourney with mee, till he had freed mee from the dangerous places: at

Kings had peace and amity together. And that we were sent vnto the Mogols countrey by our King, and with his letter vnto the Mogol, for his subiects to trade in his Countrey: and with his Maiesties Commission for the gournment of his subiects. And I made no question, but in deliuering backe his Maiesties subiects and goods, that it would be well taken at his Kings hands: if the contrary, it would be a meanes of breach. At the receit of my letter, the proud Rascall braued so much, as the Messenger told me, most vilely abusing his Maiestie, tearing him King of Fishermen, and of an Island of no import, and a fart for his Commission, scorning to send me any answer.

since recovered with interest by our Sea fights with the Portugals.

The intolerable pride of the Portugall Captaine.

It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the Portugal Frigats, who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Maior. The businesse as I vnderstood, was that the Gouvernour should send me as prisoner vnto him, for that we were Hollanders. I vnderstanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of England and his subiects: his answer was, that these Seas belonged vnto the King of Portugall, and none ought to come here without his license. I told him, that the King of Englands license was as good as the King of Spaines, and as free for his Subiects, as for the King of Spaines, and he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, and so tell your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of England, he is a base villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore. I sending him a challenge, the Mores perceiuing I was mooued, caused the Portugal to depart. This Portugal some two houres after, came to my house, promising me that he would procure the libertie of my men and goods, so that I would be liberall vnto him. I entertained him kindly, and promised him much, but before he departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for Goa.

The English prisoners sent for Goa.

that not esteemed: (for what I had for the King, Mocrebchan tooke from me, wher-with I acquainted his Maiestie.) After salutation done, with a most kind and smiling countenance, he bade me most heartily welcome, vpon which speech I did my obeysance and dutie againe. Hauing his Maiesties Letter in my hand, he called me to come neere vnto him, stretching downe his hand from the Seate Royall, where he sate in great Maiestie something high, for to be seene of the people: receiuing very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the Seale, and the manner of making it vp, he called for an old Jesuite that was there present to reade it. In the meane space, while the Jesuite was reading it, hee spake vnto mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the contents of the Letter, which I told him; upon which notice, presently granting and promising me by God, that all what the King had there written, he would grant and allow with all his heart, and more if his Maiestie would require it. The Jesuite likewise told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile, saying it was basely penned, writing *Vestra* without *Maiestad*: my answere was vnto the King, and if it shall please your Maiestie, these people are our enemies: how can this letter be ill written, when my King demandeth fauour of your Maiestie? he said, it was true.

Jesuiticall  
Charitie.

The Mogoll  
skilfull in  
the Turkish  
tongue.

Perceiuing I had the Turkish Tongue, which himselfe well understood, hee commanded me to follow him vnto his Chamber of Presence, being then risen from that place of open Audionce, desiring to haue further conference with me: in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came forth from his women. Then calling mee vnto him, the first thing that hee spake, was that he vnderstood that Mocrebchan had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee bee of good cheere, for he would remedie all. It should seeme, that Mocreb-chans enemies had acquainted the King with all his

part thereof, before his comming to Surat: and after his comming, I was barred of all: although he outwardly dissembled, and flattered with me almost for three moneths, feeding me with faire promises, and other kindnesses. In the mean time, he came to my house three times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good, so that when he saw that I had no more good things left, he likewise by little and little degraded me of his good lookes. Almost all this time, William Finch was extreame sicke of the Fluxe, but thanks be to God recouered past all hope, I, on the other side, could not peepe out of doores for fear of the Portugals, who in troops lay lurking in by-wayes, to giue me assault to murder me, this being at the time that the Armada was there.

The first plot laid against me, was: I was inuited by Hogio Nazam to the fraughting of his ship for Mocha, as the custome is, they make at the fraughting of their ships great feasts, for all the principallest of the Towne. It was my good hap at that time, a great Captaine belonging to the Vice-Roy of Guzerat resident in Amadanaur,<sup>1</sup> being sent about affaires vnto Surat, was likewise inuited to this feast, which was kept at the water side: and neere vnto it, the Portugals had two Frigats of their Armada, which came to receiue their tribute of the shippes that were to depart, as also refreshment. Out of these Frigats, there came three gallant fellowes to the tent where I was, and some fortie followers Portugals, scattering themselues along the Sea side, ready to giue an assault when the word should be giuen. These three Gallants that came to the tents, armed with coats of Buffe downe to the knees, their Rapiers and Pistols by their sides, demaunded for the English Captaine: vpon the hearing of which, I arose presently, and told them that I was the man, and perceiuing an alteration in them, I laid hand vpon my weapon. The Captaine Mogol perceiuing treason towards me, both he and his followers drew

The first  
plot of the  
Portugals  
to kill me.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmedabad.

that his meaning was a longer time, for he meant to send an Ambassador to the King of England, at the comming of the next shipping: and that I should stay with him vntill some other bee sent from my King, to remayne in my place, saying this: Thy staying would be highly for the benefit of thy Nation, and that he would giue me good maintenance, and my being heere in his presence, would bee the cause to right all wrongs that should be offered vnto my Nation: and further, what I should see beneficiall for them, vpon my petition made, hee would grant: swearing by his Fathers Soule, that if I would remayne with him, he would grant me Articles for our Factorie to my hearts desire, and would neuer goe from his word. I replyed againe, I would consider of it. Thus daily inticing me to stay with him, alleaging as is aboue written, and that I should doe seruice, both to my naturall King and him, and likewise he would allow me by the yeare, three thousand and two hundred pounds sterling for my first, and so yeerely, hee promised mee to augment my Liuing, till I came to a thousand Horse. So my first should be foure hundred Horse. For the Nobilitie of India haue their Titles by the number of their Horses,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, from fortie to twelue thousand, which pay belongeth to Princes, and his Sonnes. I trusting vpon his promise, and seeing it was beneficiall both to my Nation and myself, being dispossessed of that benefit which I should haue reaped, if I had gone to Bantam, and that after halfe a doozen yeeres, your Worships would send another man of sort in my place, in the meane time, I should feather my Neast, and doe you seruice: and further perceiuing great iniuries offered vs, by reason the King is so farre from the Ports, for all which causes aboue specified, I did not think it amisse to yeeld vnto his request. Then, because my

The Kings  
suspensary  
wages and  
honorable  
Pensions to  
his Nobles.

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Akbar established 66 *munsabs* or commands of cavalry, the *Munsabdars* commanding from ten to 10,000; but only the king's sons had *munsabs* above 5,000. (See Gladwin's *Ayin Akbari*, i. p. 210.)

complaine of him vnto the King. This he plotted with Mocreb-chan to ouerthrow my iourney, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said, that he would not let me haue any force to goe with me. And what else hee would haue him to doe, either with my Treuchman and Coachman, to poyson or murther me, if one should faile, the other to doe it: this inuention was put into Mocreb-chans head by the Father. But God for his mercie sake, afterward discovered these plots, and the Counsell of this Jesuite tooke not place. Before the plotting of this, the Jesuite and I fell out in the presence of Mocreb-chan, for vile speaches made by him of our King and Nation, to bee vassals vnto the King of Portugall: which words I could not brooke, in so much, that if I could haue had my will, the Father had neuer spoken more, but I was pre-vented.

*Jesuites  
policy.  
Just Jesuit-  
isme.*

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§ II.

His Journey to the Mogoll at Agra, and entertay(n)ment at Court.

Now finding William Finch in good health, newly recovered, I left all things touching the Trade of Merchandizing in his power: giuing him my remembrance and order, what he should doe in my absence. So I began to take vp Souldiers to conduct mee, being denyed of Mocreb-chan, besides Shot and Bow men that I hired. For my better safety, I went to one of Chanchanna his Captaines, to let mee haue fortie or fiftie Horsemen to conduct me to Chanchanna, being then Vice-Roy of Decan, Resident in Bramport, who did to all his power all that I demanded, giving me valient Horsemen Pattens,<sup>1</sup> a people very much feared in these parts: for if I had not done it, I had beene ouer-throwne. For the Portugals of Daman had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs a Raga, who was absolute Lord of a Province, (betweene Daman, Guzerat and Decan) call Cruly,

<sup>1</sup> Patans.

Nicholas  
Vfflet.

Mubarique  
Sha an Ar-  
menian  
Christian.

Ekber Pad-  
asha.

He taketh a  
Christian  
gentle-  
woman to  
Wife. She  
came ouer  
with him  
for Eng-  
land, but he  
dying by  
the way,  
she was  
after mar-  
ried to M.  
Towerson.

answere, the Portugalls were like madde Dogges, labour-  
ing to worke my passage out of the World. So I told the  
King what dangers I had passed, and the present danger  
wherein I was, my Boy Steuen Grauoner instantly depart-  
ing this World, my man Nicholas Vfflet extreame sicke, and  
this was all my English Company, my selfe beginning to  
fall downe too. The King presently called the Jesuites,  
and told them if I dyed by any extraordinary casualtie, that  
they should all rue for it. This past, the King was very  
earnest with me to take a white Mayden out of his Palace,  
who would giue her all things necessary, with slaues, and he  
would promise mee she should turne Christian: and by this  
meanes my meates and drinkes should be looked vnto by  
them, and I should liue without feare. In regard she was a  
Moore, I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian  
found, I would accept it. At which my speech, I little  
thought a Christians Daughter could bee found. So the  
King called to memorie one Mubarique Sha<sup>1</sup> his Daughter,  
who was a Christian Armenian, and of the Race of the most  
ancient Christians, who was a Captaine, and in great fauor  
with Ekbar Padasha,<sup>2</sup> this Kings Father. This Captaine  
dyed suddenly and without will, with a Masse of Money,  
and all robbed by his Brothers and Kindred, and Debts that  
cannot be recouered: leauing the Child only a few Jewels.  
I seeing she was of so honest a Descent, hauing passed my  
word to the King, could not withstand my fortunes. There-  
fore I tooke her, and for want of a Minister, before Christian  
Witnesses, I marryed her: the Priest was my man Nicholas,  
which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a  
Prcacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton, and hee  
shewing me the error, I was new marryed agayne: for euer  
after I liued content and without feare, she being willing to  
goe where I went, and liue as I liued. After these matters

<sup>1</sup> Mubarik Khan is given in the list of *Munsubdars* of 1,000 in Gladwin's *Ajín Akbóri*, i, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar.

ended, newes came hither that the Ascention was to come by the men of her Pinnasse, that was cast away neere Suratt, vpon which newes, I presently went to the King and told him, crauing his Licence, together with his Commission, for the setling of our Trade: which the King was willing to doe, limiting me a time to returne, and be with him againe.

The Pinnasse of the Ascention cast away neere Suratt.

But the Kings chiefe Vizir Abdal Hassan, a man enuious to all Christians, told the King that my going would be the occasion of warre: and thus harm might happen vnto a great man who was sent for Goa, to by toyes for the King. Vpon which speech, the Kings pleasure was I should stay, and sent away his Commission to my chiefe Factor at Surat, and presently gaue order, that it should be most effectually written, so firmly for our good, and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently, and sent it to William Finch. Before it came there, newes came that the Ascension<sup>1</sup> was cast away, and her men saued, but not supposed to come into the Citie of Surat. Of that likewise I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that great Captaine Mocreb-chan my enemy: and gaue me another Commandement for their good vsage, and meanes to be wrought to saue the goods, if it were possible. These two commandments came almost together, to the great ioy of William Finch and the rest, admiring much at these things. And now continuing these great fauours with the King, being continually in his sight, for one halfe of foure and twentie houre seruing him day and night, I wanted not the greater part of his Nobles that were Mahumetans, to be mine enemies. For it went against their hearts, that a Christian should be so great and neere the King: and the more, because the King had promised to make his Brothers children Christians. Awhile after came some of the Ascen-

The Kings Commission in the fauour of the English vnder his greate Seale with golden Letters. Ascention cast away.

The greater part of the Kings Nobles are Mahumetans.

Some of the Ascensions Company and M. Alexander Sharpey their Generall came to Agra.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies*, etc. (Hakluyt Society), pp. 120-130, for an account of the loss of the *Ascension*.



that not esteemed: (for what I had for the King, Mocreb-chā took from me, wherewith I acquainted his Maiestie.) After salutation done, with a most kind and smiling countenance, he bade me most heartily welcome, vpon which speech I did my obeysance and dutie againe. Hauing his Maiesties Letter in my hand, he called me to come nere vnto him, stretching downe his hand from the Seate Royall, where he sate in great Maiestie something high, for to be seene of the people: receiuing very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the Seale, and the manner of making it vp, he called for an old Jesuite that was there present to reade it. In the meane space, while the Jesuite was reading it, hee spake vnto mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the contents of the Letter, which I told him; vpon which notice, presently granting and promising me by God, that all what the King had there written, he would grant and allow with all his heart, and more if his Maiestie would require it. The Jesuite likewise told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile, saying it was basely penned, writing *Vestra* without Maiestad: my answere was vnto the King, and if it shall please your Maiestie, these people are our enemies: how can this letter be ill written, when my King demandeth fauour of your Maiestie? he said, it was true.

Jesuiticall  
Charitie.

The Mogoll  
skilfull in  
the Turkish  
tongue.

Perceiuing I had the Turkish Tongue, which himselfe well understood, hee commanded me to follow him vnto his Chamber of Presence, being then risen from that place of open Audience, desiring to haue further conference with me: in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came forth from his women. Then calling mee vnto him, the first thing that hee spake, was that he vnderstood that Mocreb-chā had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee be cheere, for he would remedie all. It should

Mocreb-chāns enemies had acquainted the King

proceedings: for indeed the King hath Spies vpon every Nobleman. I answered most humbly, that I was certaine all matters would goe well on my side, so long as his Maiestie protected me. Vpon which speech he presently sent away a Post for Suratt, with his command to Mocreb-chan, writing vnto him very earnestly in our behalves: coniuring him to bee none of his friend, if hee did not deale well with the English, in that kind, as their desire was.

Spies vpon  
euery  
Nobleman.

This being dispatched and sent by some Messenger, I sent my Letter to William Finch, wishing him to goe with this command to Mocreb-chan: at the receit of which hee wondred that I came safe to Agra, and was not murthered, or poysoned by the way, of which speech William Finch aduertised me afterward.

It grew late, and hauing had some small conference with the King at that time, he commanded that I should daily be brought into his presence, and gaue a Captaine named Houshaberchad charge that I should lodge at his house, till a house was found conuenient for mee: and when I needed anything of the King, that he should bee my Solicitor. According to command, I resorted to the Court, where I had daily conference with the King. Both night and day, his delight was very much to talke with mee, both of the Affaires of England and other Countries, as also many demands of the West Indies, whereof hee had notice long before, being in doubt if there were any such place, till he had spoken with me, who had beene in the Countrey.

M. Will.  
Hawkins  
had been in  
the West  
Indies.

Many dayes and weekes being past, and I now in great fauour with the King, to the grieffe of all mine enemies, espying my time, I demanded for his Commandement or Commission with Capitulations for the establishing of our Factory to be in mine owne power. His answere was, whether I would remayne with him in his Court, I replied, till shipping came; then my desire was to goe home, with the answere of his Maiesties Letter. Hee replied againe,

any such matter were, I would answer it with my life: and that we were not so base a Nation, as these mine enemies reported. All this was because I demanded my due, and yet cannot get it. At this time those that were neere fauourites, and neerest vnto the King, whom I daily visited, and kept in withall, spake in my behalfe: and the King holding on my side, commanded that no more such wrongs be offered me. So I thinking to vse my best in the recovery of this, intreating the head Vizir that he would be meanes that I receiue not so great a losse: answered me in a threatening manner: that if I did open my mouth any more, hee would make me to pay an hundred thousand Mamadies, which the King had lost in his Customes, by entertaining me, and no man durst aduenture by reason of the Portugall. So by this meanes I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this Money was swallowed by both these Dogges. Now Mocreb-chan being commaunded in publicke, that by such a day he be ready to depart for Guzerat, and so for Goa, and then come and take his leaue, as the custome is: in this meane time, three of the principall Merchants of Surat were sent for by the Kings commaundement, and come to the Court about affaires wherein the King or his Vizir had imployed them, being then present there when Mocreb-chan was taking his leaue; this being a plot laid both by the Portugals, Mocreb-chan, and the Vizir. For some six daies before a Letter came vnto the King from the Portugal Vice-roy, with a Present of many rare things. The Contents of this Letter were, how highly the King of Portugall tooke in ill part the entertaining of the English, he being of an ancient amitie, with other complements: and with all, how that a Merchant was there arriued, with a very faire ballace Ruby, weighing three hundred and fiftie Rotties,<sup>1</sup> of which stone the pattern

A Letter  
from the  
Viceroy of  
the East In-  
dia to the  
Mogull  
against the  
English.

<sup>1</sup> *Rati* (corruptly *Ruther*), the seed of *Abrus precatorius*, used as the basis of weights for gold and silver. 8 *Rati*=1 *Masha*, 12 *Masha*=1 *Tola*, 5 *Tola*=1 *Chitak*, 16 *Chitak*=1 *Sir*, a *Sir*=2 lbs. 6 oz.

name was something hard for his pronuntiation, hee called me by the name of English Chan,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, English Lord, but in Persia it is the Title for a Duke, and this went currant throughout the Countrey.

Now your Worships shall vnderstand, that I being nowe in the highest of my fauours, the Jesuites and Portugalls slept not, but by all meanes sought my ouerthrow: and to say the truth, the principall Mahumetans neere the King, enuyed much that a Christian should bee so nigh vnto him. The Jesuite Peneiro being with Mocreb-chan, and the Jesuites here, I thinke did little regard their Masses and Church matters, for studying how to ouerthrow my Affaires: aduice being gone to Goa by the Jesuites here, I meane in Agra, and to Padre Peneiro at Surat or Cambaya, hee working with Mocreb-chan to be the Portugals assistance, and the Vice Roy sending him a great Present, together with many Toyes vnto the King with his Letter. These presents and many more promises, wrought so much with Mocreb-chan, that he writeth his Petition vnto the King, sending it together with the present, aduertising the King, that the suffering of the English in his land, would be the cause of the losse of his owne Countries, neere the Sea-Coasts, as Suratt, Cambaya, and such like: and that in any case he entertaine me not, for that his ancient friends the Portugalls murmured highly at it: and that the same is spread amongst the Portugalls, that I was Generall of ten thousand Horsemen, readie to giue the assault vpon Diu, when our shipping came.

Jesuiticall  
Christian-  
itie.

The prac-  
tice of the  
Portugals  
against our  
Trade.

Lying a  
great strata-  
game.

The Vice-Royes Letter likewise was in this kind: the Kings answere was; that he had but one English-man in his Court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee hath not pretended any such matter; for I would haue giuen him Liuing neere the Sea ports, but he refused it, taking it neere me heere. This was the Kings answere, upon which

The King  
answers.

<sup>1</sup> Inglis Khán.

to the contrary: for it was his pleasure that the English should come into his Ports. So this time againe I was a floate.

Of this alteration, at that instant the Jesuite had notice: for there is no matter passeth in the Mogols Court in secret, but it is knowne halfe an houre after, giuing a small matter to the writer of that day: for there is nothing that passeth, but it is written, and writers appointed by turnes, so that the Father, nor I, could passe any businesse, but when we would we had notice. So the Jesuite presently sent away the most speedy messenger that could be gotten, with his Letter to Padre Pineiro and Mocreb-chan, aduertising them of all that had passed. At the receit of which, they consulted amongst themselues, not to go forward on their voyage to Goa, till I were ouerthrowne againe. Wherefore Mocreb-chan wrote his petition vnto the King, and letters vnto his friend, the head Vizir, how it stood not with the Kings honour to send him, if he performed not what he promised the Portugal: and that his voyage would be ouerthrowne, if he did not call in the commandement he had giuen the Englishman. Vpon the receiuing and reading of this, the King went againe from his word, esteeming a few toyes which the Father had promised him more than his honour.

Now beeing desirous to see the full issue of this, I went to Hogio Tahan, Lord General of the Kings Palace (the second man in place in the Kingdome) intreating him that he would stand my friend. He very kindly, presently went vnto the King, telling him I was very heauy and discontent, that Abdall Hassan would not deliuer me my commandement, which his Maiestie had graunted me. The King answered him (I being present, and very neere him), saying, It was true, that the commandement is sealed, and ready to be deliuered him: but vpon letters receiued from Mocreb-chan, and better consideration by me had on these my affaires in my Ports in Guzerat, I thought it fitting not to

ended, newes came hither that the Ascension was to come by the men of her Pinnasse, that was cast away neere Suratt, vpon which newes, I presently went to the King and told him, crauing his Licence, together with his Commission, for the setling of our Trade: which the King was willing to doe, limiting me a tyme to returne, and be with him againe.

The Pinnasse of the Ascension cast away neere Suratt.

But the Kings chiefe Vizir Abdal Hassan, a man enuious to all Christians, told the King that my going would be the occasion of warre: and thus harm might happen vnto a great man who was sent for Goa, to by toyes for the King. Vpon which speech, the Kings pleasure was I should stay, and sent away his Commission to my chiefe Factor at Surat, and presently gaue order, that it should be most effectually written, so firmly for our good, and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently, and sent it to William Finch. Before it came there, newes came that the Ascension<sup>1</sup> was cast away, and her men saued, but not supposed to come into the Citie of Surat. Of that likewise I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that great Captaine Mocreb-chan my enemy: and gaue me another Commandement for their good vsage, and meanes to be wrought to saue the goods, if it were possible. These two commandments came almost together, to the great ioy of William Finch and the rest, admiring much at these things. And now continuing these gréat fauours with the King, being continually in his sight, for one halfe of foure and twentie houre seruing him day and night, I wanted not the greater part of his Nobles that were Mahumetans, to be mine enemies. For it went against their hearts, that a Christian should be so great and neere the King: and the more, because the King had promised to make his Brothers children Christians. Awhile after came some of

The Kings Commission in the fauour of the English vnder his gréate Seale with golden Letters. Ascension cast away.

The greater part of the Kings Nobles are Mahumetans.

Some of the

<sup>1</sup> See the *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East* (Hakluyt Society), pp. 120-130, for an account of the *Ascension*.

ness Company unto me (whom I could haue wished of better behaviour, a thing pryed into by the King). In all this time, I could not get my debts of Mocreb-chan, till at length he was sent for vp to the King, to answere for many faults, and tyrannical In-justice, which he did to all people in those parts, many a man being vndone by him, who petitioned to the King for Justice.

Now this Dogge, to make his peace, sent many bribes to the Kings Sonnes and Noble-men, that were none the King, who laboured in his behalfe. After news came that Mocreb-chan was approached neere, the King presently sent to attach all his goods, which were in that abundance, that the King was two moneths in viewing them, every day allotting a certaine quantitie to be brought before him: and what he thought fitting for his owne taste he kept, and the rest deliuered againe to Mocreb-chan. In viewing of these goods, there came those Peeeces and Curles, and Head-peece, with other Presents, that he took from me for the King of mine owne, not suffering mee to bring them my self: at the sight whereof, I was so bold to tell the King what was mine. After the King had viewed these goods, a very great complaint was made by a Banian, how that Mocreb-chan had taken his Daughter, saying she was for the King, which was his excuse, deflowering her himself: and afterwards gaue her to a Brammen, belonging to Mocreb-chan. The man who gaue notice of this child, protested her to passe all that euer he saw for beauty. The matter being examined, and the offence done by Mocreb-chan found to be true, hee was committed to prison in the power of a great Nobleman: and commandement was given that the Brammene his priuy members should be cut off.

Before this happened to Mocreb-chan, I went to visite him diner times, who made me very faire promises, that he would deale very kindly with mee, and be my friend, and

thence to England—thinking, as the opinion of others was, that the Vice Roy giuing his secure Royall, there would be no danger for me. But when my Wifes Mother and kindred saw that I was to carry her away, suspecting that they would neuer see her any more, they did so distaste me in these my trauels, that I was forced to yeeld vnto them, that my Wife go no further than Goa, because it was India: and that they could goe and come and visit her, and that, if at any time I meant to goe for Portugall, or any other-where, that I leaue her that portion, that the custom of Portugall is, to leaue to their Wiues when they dye: vnto which I was forced to yeeld to giue them content, to preuent all mischiefes. But knowing that if my Wife would goe with me, all would bee of no effect, I effected with the Jesuites to send for two Secures, the one concerning my quiet being and free liberties of conscience in Goa, and to be as a Portingall in all Tradings and Commerce in Goa: (this was to shew my Wifes Parents). The other was an absolute grant for free passage into Portugall, and so for England, with my Wife and Goods, without any disturbances of any of my Wiues friends: and what agreements I made with them to be void and of none effect, but I should stay or goe, when I pleased, with free libertie of conscience for my self. This last *Seguro* I should receaue at Cambaya, which at my departure for our shippes were not yet come, but was to come with the Carrauan of Frigats.

This and much more the Fathers would haue done for me, only to rid me out of the Country; for being cleare of me, they should much more quietly sleepe. About this time, I had notice of the comming of three English ships that were arriued at Mocha, and without faile their determination was to come for Surat, at the time of the yeare; hauing this Aduertisement by Nicholas Bangham from Bramport, who departed from me some weekes before, both for the recouery of certain Debts, as also with my



my such manner were, I would answer it with my life: and that we were not so base a Nation, as these mine enemies reported. All this was because I demanded my due, and the money got in. At this time those that were near hand, and nearest unto the King, whom I daily visited, and kept in wait, spake in my behalfe: and the King holding it my side, commanded that no more such wrongs be offered me. So I thinking to use my best in the recovery of this, moving the head Vizir that he would be meane that I receive not so great a losse: answered me in a threatening manner: that if I did open my mouth any more, he would make me to pay an hundred thousand Mambas, which the King had lost in his Customes, by entertaining me, and no man durst adventure by reason of the Portugall. So by this meane I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this Money was swallowed by both these Dogges. Now Mocreb-chan being commaunded in politike that by such a day he be ready to depart for Guzerat, and so for Goa, and then come and take his leave as the custom is: in this meane time, three of the principal Merchants of Surat were sent for by the King, and came to the Court about affaires wherein the King or his Vizir had imployed them, being then present there when Mocreb-chan was taking his leave this being a plot laid both by the Portugals, Mocreb-chan and the Vizir. For some six daies before a Letter came unto the King from the Portugal Vice-roy, with a Present of many rare things. The Contents of this Letter were how highly the King of Portugall tooke in ill part the entertaining of the English, he being of an ancient amitie with other complements: and with all, how that a Merchant was there arrived, with a very faire ballace Ruby, weighing three hundred and fiftie Rotties,<sup>1</sup> of which stone the pattern

<sup>1</sup> Literally *Ratti*, the seed of *Abrus precatorius*, used as the basis of weights for gold and silver. 8 *Rati*=1 *Masha*, 12 *Masha*=1 *Tola*=1 *Chitak*, 16 *Chitak*=1 *Sir*, a *Sir*=2 lbs, 6 oz.

was sent. Upon this newes Mocreb-chan was to be hastened away, at whose comming to take his leaue together with Padre Pineiro, that was to goe with him, the aboue named Merchants of Surat being then there present, Mocreb-chan began to make his speech to the King, saying, that this and many other things he hoped to obtaine of the Portugall, so that the English were disanulled: saying more, that it would redound to great losse vnto his Maiestie and Subiects, if hee did further suffer the English to come into his parts. Vpon which speech he called the Merchants before the King, to declare what losse it would be, for that they best know. They affirmed, that they were like to be all vndone because of the English, nor hereafter any toy could come into this country, because the Portugal was so strong at sea, and would not suffer them to goe in or out of their Ports: and all their excuse was, for suffering the English.

A speech of Mocreb-chan to the King against the English.

These speeches now and formerly, and lucre of this stone, and promises by the Fathers of rare things, were the causes the King overthrew my affaires; saying, Let the English come no more: presently giuing Mocreb-chan his commandment, to deliuer the Viceroy to that effect, that he would neuer suffer the English to come any more into his ports.

The Kings commandment vpon false information against the English.

I now saw that it booted me not to meddle vpon a sudden, or to make any petition vnto the King, till a prety while after the departure of Mocreb-chan; and seeing my enemies were so many, although they had eaten of me many Presents. When I saw my time, I made my petition vnto the King. In this space I found a toy to giue, as the order is: for there is no man that commeth to make petition, who commeth empty handed. Vpon which petition made him, he presently graunted my request, commanding his Vizir to make me another commandment in as ample manner as my former, and commanded that no man should open his mouth

None make petition to the King without some Present.

He depart-  
eth from  
Agra the  
second of  
November  
1611.

answering, that for my Nation, hee would not grant Trade at the Sea Ports, for the inconuenience that diuers times had been scanned vpon. But, for my selfe, if I would remayne in his seruice he would command, that what he had allowed me should be giuen me to my content : which I denied, vnlesse the English should come vnto his Ports according to promise, and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not see me want. Then desiring againe answere of the Kings Letter, he consulted a-while with his Vizirs, and then sent mee his denyall. So I tooke my leaue and departed from Agra, the second of Nouember 1611. Being of a thousand thoughts what course I were best to take : for I still had a doubt of the Portingalls that for lucre of my goods they would poyson me. Againe, on the other-side, it was dangerous by reasone of the Warres to trauell thorow Decan vnto Masulipatan : by land, by reason of the Turkes, I could not goe ; and to stay I would not amongst these faithlesse Infidels.

A fained  
policie of  
the Jesuites.

I arriued at Cambaya, the last of December 1611, where I had certaine newes of the English ships that were at Surat.<sup>1</sup> Immediately I sent a Footman vnto the ships with my Letter, with certaine aduice, affirmed for a truth, by the Fathers of Cambaya, unto me, that the Vice-Roy had in readinesse prepared to depart from Goa, foure great ships, with certaine Gallies, and Frigats for to come vpon them, and Treasons plotted against Sir Henry Middletons person : of which newes, I was wished by the Fathers to aduise Sir Henry : which I found afterwards to bee but their policie, to put him in feare, and so to depart, and withall, I wished them to be well aduised. And as for me my shifts were to goe home, by the way of the Portugalls, for so I had promised my Wife and her Brother, who at that present was with me : and to delude him and the Fathers till I had notice for

<sup>1</sup> See the *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies*, etc. (Hakluyt Society, 1877), p. 195.

set him haue it. Thus was I tossed and tumbled in the  
 kind of a rich Merchant, aduertising all he had in one bot-  
 tome, and by casualtie of stormes or pirates, lost it all at  
 once. So that on the other side, concerning my liuing,  
 I was so crossed, that many times this Abdali Hassan his  
 answers would be vnto me; I know wel enough you stand  
 not in such need, for your Master beareth your charges, and  
 the King knew not what he did in giuing it to you, from  
 whom he should receiue. My answer was, that it was the  
 Kings pleasure, and none of my request; and seeing it is  
 his Maiesties gift, I had no reason to loose it: so that from  
 time to time he bade mee haue patience, and he would find  
 out a good liuing for me. Thus was I daunted withall by  
 this mine enemie, in so much that in all the time I serued  
 in Court, I could not get a liuing that would yeeld anything,  
 giuing me my liuing still, in places where Out-lawes raigned:  
 only, once at Lahor by an especiall commandement from  
 the King, but I was soone deprivied of it: and all that I  
 receiued from the beginning, was not fully three hundred  
 pounds, a great part whereof was spent vpon charges of  
 men sent to the Lordships. When that I saw that the  
 liuing which the King absolutely gaue me, was taken from  
 me, I was then past all hopes: for before, at the newes of  
 the arriual of shipping, I had great hope that the King  
 would performe former grants, in hopes of rare things that  
 should come from England. But when I made Petition  
 vnto the King concerning my liuing, he turned me  
 ouer to Abdall Hassan: who not only denied me my  
 liuing; but also gaue order, that I be suffered no more to  
 enter within the red rayles: which is a place of honour, The red  
 Rayles a  
 place of  
 honour.  
 where all my time was placed very neere vnto the King, in  
 which place there were but fve men in the Kingdome be-  
 fore me.

Now perceiuing that all my affaires were ouerthrowne, I  
 determined with the Councell of those that were neere m

Letter to our shipping, if it were possible to send it, advertising them of my proceedings.

In this time of my dispatching, newes came of Mocreb-chans returne from Goa, with many gallant and rare things, which he brought for the King. But that Ballace Ruby was not for his turne, saying it was false, or at the least, made his excuse for feare, that if he should giue the Portugall his price, and when it came into the King's power, it should bee valued much lesse (which ouerplus he should bee forced to pay, as hee had done in former times for other things). hee left it behind him. And besides, I vnderstood, the Mocreb-chan had not his full content as he expected of the Portugalls. And likewise, at this instant the Vizir, my enemy, was thrust out of his place, for many complaints made of him, by Noblemen that were at great charges and in debt, and could not receiue their livings in places that were good, but in barren and rebellious places: and that he made a benefit of the good places himselfe and robbed them all. For these complaints and others, he had much ado to escape with life, being out of his place, and sent to the wars of Decan. Now one Gaihbeig<sup>1</sup> being the King's chief Treasurer (a man that in outward shew made much of me, and was always willing to pleasure me, when I had occasion to vse him) was made chiefe Vizir; and his Daughter marryed with the King, being his chiefe Queen or Paramour.<sup>2</sup> The Vizir's sonne and my selfe were great friends, he hauing beene often at my house, and was now exalted to high Dignities by the King. Perceiuing this alteration, and being certified of the comming of shipping, by certain aduice, sundry wayes. Knowing the custom of these Moores, that without gifts and bribes nothing would

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Ghiyas, son of a native of Tehran, who rose from great poverty to a position of trust under Akbar.

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated Nur Jehan. Her father Mirza Ghiyas, was made chief minister by Jehangir.

either goe forward or bee accomplished, I sent my Broker to seeke out for Jewels, fitting for the King's Sister and new Paramour ; and, likewise, for this new Vizir, and his sonne.

Now after they had my Gifts, they beganne on all sides to sollicite my cause ; at which time newes came to Agra, by Banians of Diu, how that off Diu, three English ships were seene, and three dayes after other newes came, that they were at the Barre of Surat. Vpon which newes the great Vizir asked me what toy I had for the King, I showed him a Ruby Ring that I had gotten, at the sight of which he bade me make readie to goe with him at Court time, and he would make my Petition to the King, and told me that the King was alreadie wonne. So once more comming before his Greatnesse, and my Petition being read, he presently granted mee the establisshing of our Factorie, and that the English come and freely trade for Surat ; willing the Vizir that with all expedition my commandement be made, vpon which grant the Vizir made signe vnto mee, to make obey-sance, which I did, according to the Custome. But now what followed ?

A great Nobleman and neerest fauourite of the King, being the dearest friend that Mocreb-chan, and likewise Abdall Hassan had, brought vp together from their childhood, and Pages together vnto the King, began to make a speech vnto the King : saying, that the granting of this would be the vtter overthrow of his Sea Coasts and people, as his Maiestie had beene informed by petition from diuers of his Subiects : and besides, that it stood not with his Maiesties honour to contradict that which he had granted to his ancient friends the Portugals, and whosoever laboured for the English, knew not what he did ; if knowing, hee was not his Maiesties friend. Vpon the speech of this Nobleman, my businesse once againe was quite ouerthrowne, and all my time and presents lost : the King

kenny Selem Cully Chan, Sheik Serid. Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, Chan Alem Mirza Ereg, Mirza Doreb, Hogio Sahan, Hogio Abdal Hassan, Mirza Gaysbey, Mirza Shemchadin, Mirza Chadulla, Seffer Chan, Kazmy Chan, Mirza Chin Kelich, Saif Chan, Lalla Bersingdia, Mirza Tyeedy, Mirza Ally Echerchuly, Terbiat Chan, Mirza Laschary, Mirza Chamcogly, Mirza Rustem, Ally Merdon Badur, Tasbey Chan, Abulbey. The rest bee from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie Horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of Horsemen, that receiue pay monethly, from sixe Horse to one, there bee five thousand, these bee called Haddies. Of such Officers and men as belong to the Court and Campe, there be thirtie sixe thousand, to say, Porters, Gunners, Watermen, Lackeyes, Horse-keepers, Elephant-keepers, Small shot, Trasses, or Tentmen, Cookes, Lightbeares, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monethly out of the King's Treasure, whose Wages be from ten to three Rupias.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a seuen-nights' warning, from twelue thousand to twentie Horse, all Horsemen three Leckes,<sup>1</sup> which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

*The Kings yecrely Income of his Crowne Land is fiftie Cror of Rupias, every Cror is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck is an hundred thousand Rupia.*

The compasse of his countrey is two yeares trauell with Candahar. Carrauan, to say, from Candahar to Agra, from Loughtare in Bengala to Agra, from Cabul to Agra, from Deccan to Agra, from Surat to Agra, from Tatta in Sinde to Agra. Agra is in a manner in the heart of all his kingdomes.

His Empire is diuided into five great Kingdomes, the

<sup>1</sup> Lakha.

certaine, that I might freely get aboard without feare, which I was assured to know at the returne of my Letter; in the meane time I did all I could to dispatch her Brother away: who within two dayes after departed for Agra, not suspecting that I had any intent for the ships. Nicholas Ufflet now departing from mee to survey the way, beeing two dayes iourney on his way, met with Captaine William Sharpeigh, Master Fraine, and Hugh Greete, sent by Sir Henry to Cambaya vnto mee, which was no small ioy vnto mee. So vnderstanding of the place (which was miraculously found out by Sir Henry Middleton, and never knowne to any of the countrey) I admired and gaue God thanks: for if this place had not beene found, it had been impossible for mee to haue gotten aboard with my goods. Wherefore making all the haste that I could, in dispatching my self away, I departed from Cambaya, the eighteenth of January 1611, and came vnto the ships the six and twentieth of the said moneth, where I was most kindly receaued by Sir Henry Middleton. From this place we departed the eleuenth of February 1611, and arriued at Dabul the sixteenth of the same: in which we tooke a Portugall ship and Frigat, out of which we tooke some quantitie of goods. And from thence we departed the fift of March 1611 for the Red Sea, with an intent to revenge vs of the wrongs offered vs, both by Turkes and Mogols: at which place wee arriued the third of Aprill 1612. Here we found three English ships, their General was Captaine John Saris. Hauing dispatched our businesse in the Red Sea, wee set sayle from thence the sixteenth of August 1612, and arriued in Tecu in Sumatra the nineteenth of October 1612, and hauing ended our businesse there, we departed in the night, the twentieth of November 1612, and came on ground the same night, three leagues off, vpon a Bed of Corall, in three fathome water, or thereabouts, and by the great mercie of God we escaped: but were forced to returne backe againe to stop

Hee came  
aboard the  
English  
Fleet.

They de-  
part with  
the English  
Fleet from  
Surat to  
Dabul.  
A Portugall  
ship taken.

They ar-  
riue at the  
mouth of  
the Red Sea.

The Fleet  
of M. John  
Saris.

They ar-  
riue at  
Tecu in  
Sumatra.



a thousand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort, of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold, of twenty Tolas<sup>1</sup> a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Tolas, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

*Of Siluer as followeth :*

In primis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteene Cror (euery Cror is an hundred Leckes, and every Lecke an thousand Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Tolas a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie Tolas a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Tolas a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five Tolas a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called Sauoy, which is a Tola  $\frac{1}{2}$ , of these there are two Leckes. Of Sagaries, whereof five make sixe Toles, there is one Lecke. More should haue beene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.

*Here followeth of his Jewells of all Sorts.*

In primis, Of Diamantes  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Battmann, there be rough, of all sortes and sizes, great and small; but no lesse than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Caratts. The Battman is fiftie pound waight, which maketh eightie two pounds  $\frac{1}{2}$  weight English. Of Ballace Rubies little and great, good and bad, there are single two thousand pieces. Of Pearle of all sorts, there are twelue Battmans. Of Rubies of all sorts, there are two Battmans. Of Emeraudes of all sorts, five Battmans. Of Eshime, which stone commeth from Cathaia, one Battman. Of stones of Emen, which is a red stone, there are five thousand pieces. Of all other sorts as Corall, Topasses, etc., there is an infinite number.

Eshime a  
precious  
stone com-  
ming from  
Cathaya.

<sup>1</sup> See note at p. 408.

*Here followeth of the Jewells wrought in Gold.*

Of Swords of Almaine Blades, with the Hilts and Scabbards set with diuers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of Poniards, there bee two thousand. Of Saddle Drummes, which they vse in their Hawking, of these there are very rich ones of Gold, set with stones, five hundred. Of Brooches for their heads, whereinto their Feathers be put, these be very rich, and of them there are two thousand. Of Saddles of Gold and Siluer set with stones, there are one thousand. Of Teukes there be five and twentie; this is a great Launce couered with Gold, and the Fluke set with stones, and these instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres, of these there are five and twentie. Of Kittasoles<sup>1</sup> of state, for to shaddow him, there bee twentie. None in his Empire dareth in any sort haue any of these carryed for his shadow but himself, of these, I say, there are twentie. Of Chaires of Estate there bee five, to say, three of Siluer, and two of Gold: and of other sorts of Chaires, there bee an hundred of Siluer and Gold, in all an hundred and five. Of rich Glasses, there bee two hundred. Of Vases for Wine very faire and rich, set with Jewels, there are an hundred. Of Drinking Cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made of one piece of Ballace Ruby, and also of Emerods, of Eshim, of Turkish stone, and of other sorts of stones. Of Chaines of Pearle, and Chaines of all sorts of precious stones, and Ringes with Jewels of rich Diamants, Ballast Rubies, Rubies and old Emerods, there is an infinite number, which only the keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of Plate, as Dishes, Cups, Basons, Pots, Beakers of Siluer wrought, there are two thousand Battmans. Of Gold wrought, there are one thousand Battmans.

Eshim  
stones of  
Cathay.

<sup>1</sup> Quitasoles—State umbrellas.

*Here followeth of all sorts of Beasts.*

Of Horses there are twelue thousand. Whereof there bee  
 Or Kismire. of Persian Horses foure thousand, of Turkie Horses six  
 thousand, and of Kismire two thousand: all are twelue  
 thousand.

Of Elephants there bee twelue thousand, whereof five  
 thousand bee teeth elephants, and seuen thousand of shee  
 ones, and yong ones, which are twelue thousand. Of  
 Camels there be two thousand. Of Oxen for the Cart, and  
 all other seruices, there bee tenne thousand. Of Moyles<sup>1</sup>  
 there be one thousand. Of Deere, like Buckes, for game  
 or sport, there be three thousand. Of Ounces for Game,  
 there be foure hundred. Of Dogges for hunting, as Grey-  
 hounds and other, there be foure hundred. Of Lions tame  
 there be an hundred. Of Buffaloes, there be five hundred.  
 Of all sorts of Hawkes there bee foure thousand. Of  
 Pidgeons for sport of flying, there bee ten thousand. Of  
 all sorts of Singing Birds, there be foure thousand.

Of Armour of all sorts at an houres warning, in a  
 readinesse to arme five and twentie thousand men.

His daily expense for his owne person, that is to say, for  
 feeding his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few  
 Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as  
 Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expenses for his house  
 amounts to fiftie thousand Rupias a day.

The expenses daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie  
 thousand Rupias. All this written concerning his Treasure,  
 Expenses and monethly pay is in his Court or Castle of  
 Agra: and euery one of the Castles above nominated,  
 haue their seuerall Treasure, especially Lahor, which was  
 not mentioned.

The Mogoll  
 heire to  
 euery man.

The Custome of this Mogoll Emperour is to take posses-  
 sion of his Noblemens Treasure when they dye, and to

<sup>1</sup> Mules.

first named Pengab, whereof Lahor is the Chiefe Seate ; the second is Bengala, the Chiefe Seate Sonargham : the third is Malwa, the Chiefe Seate is Ugam :<sup>1</sup> the fourth is Decan, the Chiefe Seate Bramport : the fifth is Guzerat, the Chiefe Seat is Amadauer :<sup>2</sup> The Chiefe Citie or Seat Royall of the Kings of India is called Delly, where hee is established King : and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier,<sup>3</sup> Neruer, Ratambore, Hassier, Roughtaz. In every one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu<sup>4</sup> in Decan : in Guzerat, the Sonne of Muzafer, that was King, his name is Bahador of Malwa, Raga Rahana. His Sonnes be five, to say, Sultan Coussero,<sup>5</sup> Sultan Peruis,<sup>6</sup> Sultan Chorem,<sup>7</sup> Sultan Shariar,<sup>8</sup> and Sultan Bath. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wiues, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu, Daughter to Kaime Chan : the second is called Noore Mahal, the Daughter of Gais Bijge :<sup>9</sup> the third is the Daughter of Seincham : the fourth is the Daughter of Hakim Hamann, who was Brother to his Father Ecber Padasha.

*His Treasure is as followeth : The first is his scuerall Coine of Gold.*

In primis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckis. Of another sort of Coyne, of

<sup>1</sup> Ujain.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmedabad.

<sup>3</sup> Gwalior.

<sup>4</sup> Malik Amber, the famous Minister of Ahmadnagar.

<sup>5</sup> Khuzru, who rebelled and passed the rest of his life in captivity.

<sup>6</sup> Parwiz, a drunkard.

<sup>7</sup> Khurram, who succeeded as Shah Jehan.

<sup>8</sup> Shahryar.

<sup>9</sup> See note at p. 414.

managed, that I saw with mine eyes, when the King commanded one of his young Sonnes named Shariar (a Childe of seuen yeeres of age) to goe to the Elephant to bee taken vp by him with his snout: who did so, deliuering him to his keeper that commanded him with his hooke: and hauing done this vnto the Kings Sonne, he afterwards did the like to many other Children. When these Elephants are shewed, if they who haue the charge of them bring them leane, then are they checked and in disgrace, vnlesse their excuse bee the better: and so it is with all things else in that kinde, that euery man strineth to bring his quantitie in good liking, although hee spend of his owne.

The Kings  
Tents as  
large in  
compasse  
as London.

Forty  
thousand  
Elephants.

When hee rideth on Progresse or Hunting the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of London and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is prouided, as for a Citie. This King is thought to be the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men: as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels, and Dromedaries. As for Elephants of his owne, and of his Nobles, there are fortie thousand, of which the one halfe are trayned Elephants for the Warre: and these Elephants of all beasts, are the most understanding. I thought good here to set downe this one thing, which was reported to me for a certainty, although it seemed very strange. An Elephant hauing iourneyed very hard, being on his trauell, was misused by his Commander, and one day finding the fellow asleepe by him, but out of his reach, hauing greene Canes brought him to eate, split the end of one of them with his teeth, and taking the other end of the Cane with his snout, reached it toward the head of the fellow, who being fast asleepe, and his turbant fallen from his head (the vse of India being to weare their haire long like Women), he tooke hold with the Cane on his haire, wreathing it therein, and withall, haling him vnto him, vntill he brought him

within the compasse of his snowt, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things are done by Elephants.

He hath also infinite numbers of Dromedaries, which are very swift, to come with great speed, to giue assault to any Citie, as this Kings Father did: so that the enemies thought he had been in Agra, when he was at Amadauar: and he came from Agra thither in nine daies, vpon these Dromedaries, with twelue thousand choyce men, Chan-channa being then his Generall. The day being appointed for the battell, on a suddaine newes came of the Kings arriuall, which struck such a present feare into the Guzerats, that at that time they were ouerthrowne and conquered. This King hath diminished his chiefe Captaines, which were Rasbootes,<sup>1</sup> or Gentiles, and naturall Indians, and hath preferred Mahumetans (weak spirited men, void of resolution) in such sort, that what this mans Father, called Eber Padasha, got of the Decans, this King Selim Sha, beginneth to loose. He hath a few good Captaines yet remaining, whom his father highly esteemed, although they be out of fauor with him, because that vpon his rebellion against his father, they would not assist him, considering his intent was nought: for he meant to haue shortened his Fathers daies, and before his time to haue come to the Crowne. And to that purpose, being in Attabase, the regall seate of a Kingdome called Porub, hee arose with eighty thousand horse, intending to take Agra, and to haue possession of the Treasury, his Father being then at the warres of Decan: who vnderstanding of his Sonnes pretence, left his conquering there, and made hast to come home to saue his owne. Before the Kings departure to the warres, hee gaue order to his Sonne to goe with his Forces vpon Aranna, that great Rebel in Malwa, who comming to parle with this Rebel, he told the Prince, that there was nothing to bee gotten by him but blowes: and it were better for him, now

Dromedaries swift-ness.

From Agra to Amadauar in nine daies.

Selims rebellion.

Or Rabbane.

<sup>1</sup> Rajputs.



his Father was at Decan, to goe vpon Agra, and possesse himselfe of his Fathers treasure, and make himselfe King, for there was no man able to resist him. The Prince followed his counsell, and would haue prosecuted it, but his Fathers hast before, vpon notice being giuen, preuented his purposes: at whose arriuall at Agra hee presently sent unto his Sonne, that he make choyce either to come and fall at his feete, and be at his mercie to doe with him as he pleased, or to fit himselfe for the battell and fight it out. He well considering the valour of his Father, thought it meetest to submit himself, and to stand to his Fathers mercy: who after affronts shewed him and imprisonment, was soone released and pardoned, by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sisters, and others.

Sultan  
Cossero  
proclaimed.

Hee was not  
blinded  
and is since  
(as you  
shall see in  
Sir Tho.  
Roe's rela-  
tions) de-  
livered out  
of prison.

This Selim Padasha being in rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed heire apparent, his eldest Sonne Cossero<sup>1</sup> being eldest Sonne to Selimsha:<sup>2</sup> for his owne Sonnes younger Brothers to Selim, were all dead in Decan and Guzerat: yet shortly after his Father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him againe. But Cossero, who was proclaimed heire apparent, stomached his father, and rose with great troopes, yet was not able to indure after the losse of many thousand men on both sides: but was taken, and remaineth still in prison in the Kings Pallace, yet blinde, as all men reporte: and was so commanded to be blinded by his father. So since that time, being now eight yeares after, he had commanded to put all his sonnes confederates to death, with sundry kinds of death; some to be hanged, some spitted, some to haue their heads chopped off, and some to bee torne by Elephants. Since which time hee hath rained in quiet, but ill beloued of the greater part of his Subiects, who stand greatly in feare of him. His custome is euery yeare to be out two moneths on hunting, as is before specified. When he

<sup>1</sup> Khuzru.

<sup>2</sup> Jehanghir.

meaneth to begin his iourney, if comming forth of his Pallace, hee get vp on a Horse, it is a signe that he goeth for the warres: but if he get vpon an Elephant or Palanke, it will bee an hunting voyage. My selfe in the time that I was one of his Courtiers, haue seene many cruell deeds done by him. Fieue times a weeke, he commaundeth his braue Elephants to fight before him: and in the time of their fighting, either comming or going out, many times men are killed, or dangerously hurt by these Elephants. But if any be grievously hurt (which might very well escape) yet neuerlesse that man is cast into the Riuer, himselfe commanding it, saying: dispatch him, for as long as he liueth, he will doe nothing else but curse me, and therefore it is better that he dye presently. I haue seene many in this kind. Againe hee delighteth to see men executed himselfe, and torne in pieces with Elephants. He put to death in my time his Secretary, onely vpon suspicion, that Chan-channa should write vnto the Deccan King, who being sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: whereupon the King not having patience, arose from his seate, and with his sword gaue him his deadly wound, and afterwards deliuered him to bee torne by Elephants.

Likewise, it happened to one who was a great friend of <sup>Senerity.</sup> mine (a chiefe man, hauing vnder his charge the Kings Wardrobe, and all Woollen Cloath, and all sorts of mercery, and his China dishes) that a faire China dish (which cost ninetie Rupias, or fortie fiue Rials of eight) was broken, in this my friends time, by a mischance (when the King was in his progresse) being packed amongst other things, on a Cammell, which fell and broke all the whole parcell. This Nobleman knowing how dearly the King loued this dish aboue the rest, presently sent one of his trusty seruants to China-machina, ouer land to seeke for another, hoping that <sup>China-machina.</sup> before he should remember the dish, he would returne with another like vnto it: but his euill lucke was contrarie. For



the King two yeares after remembered the dish, and his man was not yet come. Now, when the King heard that the dish was broken, he was in a great rage, commanding him to be brought before him, and to be beaten by two men, with two great whips made of cords: and after that he had receiued one hundred and twenty of these lashes, he commanded his Porters, who he appointed for that purpose, to beate him with their small Cudgels, till a great many of them were broken: at the least twenty men were beating of him, till the poore man was thought to bee dead, and then he was haled out by the heeles, and commaunded to prison. The next day the King demaunded whether he was liuing, answer was made, that he was: whereupon he commanded him to be carried vnto perpetuall prison. But the Kings Sonne being his friend, freed him of that, and obtained of his Father, that he might bee sent to his owne house, and there be cured. So after two moneths, he was reasonably well recouered, and came before the King, who presently commanded him to depart the Court, and neuer come againe before him, vntill he had found such a like dish, and that hee trauell for China-machina to seeke it: the King allowed him fve thousand Rupias towards his charges; and besides, returning one fourth part of his liuing that he had before, to maintaine him in his trauell. He being departed, and fourteene moneths on his trauell, was not yet come home: but newes came of him, that the King of Persia had the like dish, and for pitties sake hath sent it him, who at my departure was on his way homeward.

China-  
machina.

Likewise, in my time it happened that Pattan, a man of good stature, came to one of the King's Sonnes, named Sultan Peruis, to intreat him to bestow somewhat on him, by petition deliuered to one of the Princes chief men, at the deliuey whereof, the Prince caused him to come neere: and demanding of him whether hee would serue him; he answered, No, for he thought that the Prince would not

Sultan  
Peruis.

grant him so much as he would aske. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow, and meanly apparelled, smiled, demanding what would content him: hee told him plainly, that hee would neither serue his Father nor him, vnder a thousand Rupias a day, which is 100 pound sterling. The Prince asked him what was in him that he demanded so much; he replied, make tryall of me with all sorts of weapons, either on horsebacke, or on foote, and for my sufficient command in the warres, if I doe not performe as much as I speake, let mee dye for it. The houre being come for the Prince to go to his Father, he gaue ouer his talk, commanding the man to be forth comming. At night the kings custome being to drinke, the Prince—perceiuing his Father to be merry, told him of this man: so the King commaunded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wilde Lyon was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained, and led by a dozen men and keepers: and while the King was viewing this Lyon, the Pattan came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembered his Father. The King demanding of the Pattan whence he was, and of what parantage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages: his answer was, that the King should make tryal of him. That I will, saith the King, goe wrastle and buffuet with this Lyon. The Pattans answer was, that this was a wild beast, and to goe barely vpon him without weapon, would be no triall of his man-hood. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him to buckle with the Lion, who did so, wrastling and buffeting with the Lyon a pretty while: and then the Lyon being loose from his keepers, but not from his chaines, got the poore man within his clawes, and tore his body in many parts: and with his pawes tore the one halfe of his face, so that this valiant man was killed by this wilde beast. The King not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horse-men in pay, being that night on

Proud  
demand.

Cruell com-  
mand.

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Sultan  
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the King.  
In all the  
world is not  
more fertile  
land than  
in some  
part of his  
Dominions.

found tardie in neuer so little a matter, they are in danger of loosing their lands; and if complaints of Iniustice which they doe bee made vnto the King, it is well if they escape with losse of their lands.

Punishment  
of Cowards.  
A chiefe  
Citie called  
Pattana.

He is very seuerie in such causes, and with all seueritie punisheth those Captaines who suffer out-lawes to giue assault vnto their Citie, without resisting. In my time there were some eight Captaines, who had their liuing vpon the borders of Bengala, in a chiefe Citie called Pattana,<sup>1</sup> which was suffered to be taken by out-lawes, and they all fled; but that Citie was againe restored by a great Captaine, who was Commander of a Countrey neere thereabouts, who took all those Captaines that fled, and sent them to the King, to vse punishment vpon them at his pleasure. So they were brought before the King in chaines, and were presently commanded to be shauen, both head and beard, and to weare womens apparel, riding vpon asses, with their faces backwards, and so carried about the Citie. This being done, they were brought before the King againe, and there whipped, and sent to perpetuall prison; and this punishment was inflicted vpon them in my sight. He is seuerie enough, but all helpeth not, for his poore Riats or Clownes complaine of Iniustice done them, and cry for Justice at the Kings hands. They come to a certaine place, where a long rope is fastened vnto two pillars neere vnto the place where the King sitteth in Justice. This rope is hanged full of Bels, plated with gold, so that the rope beeing shaken the Bels are heard by the King; who sendeth to know the cause, and doth his Justice accordingly. At his first comming to the Crowne, he was more seuerie then now he is, which is the cause that the Countrey is so full of outlawes and theenes, that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces; for they are all become Rebels.

<sup>1</sup> Patna.

him a Chest, as he laid, of three spannes long, and a spanne and a halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts : yet could he find neuer any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties, which was not very foule neither.

An inestimable rich  
coffer of  
Diamonds.

He is exceeding rich in Diamants, and all other precious stones, and vsually weareth euery day a faire Diamant of great price, and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come about to weare it againe, he weareth not the same ; that is to say, all his faire Jewels are diuided into a certaine quantitie or proportion to weare euery day. He also weareth a chaine of Pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of Emeralds, and ballace Rubies. Hee hath another Jewell that commeth round about his turbant, full of faire Diamants and Rubies. It is not much to bee wondered, that he is so rich in Jewels, and in Gold and Siluer, when he hath heaped together the Treasure and Jewels of so many Kings, as his forefathers haue conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together ; and all came to his hands. Againe, all the money and Jewels which his Nobles heape together, when they die come all vnto him, who giueth what he listeth to the Nobleman's wiues and children ; and this is done to all them that receiue pay, or liuing from the King. India is rich in siluer, for all Nations bring Coyne, and carry away commodities for the same ; and this Coyne is buried in India, and goeth not out : so it is thought, that once in twentie yeeres it commeth into the Kings power. All the lands in his Monarchie are at his disposing, who giueth and taketh at his pleasure. If I haue lands at Lahor, being sent vnto the warres at Decan, another hath the lands, and I am to receiue mine in Decan, or thereabouts, neere the place

Cause of so  
great  
wealth.

Those lands  
which are  
let pay to  
the King  
two thirds  
of the pro-  
fit : and of  
those which  
he giueth in  
fee, one  
third re-  
maineth to

I am, whether it be in the warres, or that I be sent  
by other businesse, for any other country. And  
to looke well vnto their doings ; for if they be



kenny Selem Cully Chan, Sheik Serid. Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, Chan Alem Mirza Ereg, Mirza Doreb, Hogio Sahan, Hogio Abdal Hassan, Mirza Gaysbey, Mirza Shemchadin, Mirza Chadulla, Seffer Chan, Kazmy Chan, Mirza Chin Kelich, Saif Chan, Lalla Bersingdia, Mirza Tyeady, Mirza Ally Eoberchuly, Terbiat Chan, Mirza Laschary, Mirza Chamcogly, Mirza Rustem, Ally Merdon Badur, Tasbey Chan, Abulbey. The rest bee from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie Horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of Horsemen, that receine pay monethly, from sixe Horse to one, there bee five thousand, these bee called Haddies. Of such Officers and men as belong to the Court and Campe, there be thirtie sixe thousand, to say, Porters, Gunners, Watermen, Lackeyes, Horse-keepers, Elephant-keepers, Small shot, Trasses, or Tentmen, Cooke, Lightbeares, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monethly out of the King's Treasure, whose Wages be from ten to three Rupias.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a seven-nights' warning, from twelue thousand to twentie Horse, all Horsemen three Leckes,<sup>1</sup> which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

*The Kings yeerely Income of his Crowne Land is fiftie Cror of Rupias, every Cror is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck is an hundred thousand Rupia.*

The compasse of his countrey is two yeares trauell with Candahar. Carrauan, to say, from Candahar to Agra, from Loughtare in Bengala to Agra, from Cabul to Agra, from Deccan to Agra, from Surat to Agra, from Tatta in Sinde to Agra. Agra is in a manner in the heart of all his kingdomes.

His Empire is diuided into five great Kingdomes, the

<sup>1</sup> Lakhs.

first named Pengab, whereof Lahor is the Chiefe Seate ; the second is Bengala, the Chiefe Seate Sonargham : the third is Malwa, the Chiefe Seate is Ugam :<sup>1</sup> the fourth is Decan, the Chiefe Seate Bramport : the fifth is Guzerat, the Chiefe Seat is Amadauer :<sup>2</sup> The Chiefe Citie or Seat Royall of the Kings of India is called Delly, where hee is established King : and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier,<sup>3</sup> Neruer, Ratambore, Hassier, Roughtaz. In euery one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu<sup>4</sup> in Decan : in Guzerat, the Sonne of Muzafer, that was King, his name is Bahador of Malwa, Raga Rahana. His Sonnes be five, to say, Sultan Coussero,<sup>5</sup> Sultan Peruis,<sup>6</sup> Sultan Chorems,<sup>7</sup> Sultan Shariar,<sup>8</sup> and Sultan Bath. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wiues, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu, Daughter to Kaime Chan : the second is called Noore Mahal, the Daughter of Gais Bijge :<sup>9</sup> the third is the Daughter of Seinchan : the fourth is the Daughter of Hakim Hamann, who was Brother to his Father Echer Padasha.

*His Treasure is as followeth : The first is his seuerall Coine of Gold.*

In primis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckis. Of another sort of Coyne, of

<sup>1</sup> Ujain.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmedabad.

<sup>3</sup> Gwalior.

<sup>4</sup> Malik Amber, the famous Minister of Ahmदनagar.

<sup>5</sup> Khuzru, who rebelled and passed the rest of his life in captivity.

<sup>6</sup> Parwiz, a drunkard.

<sup>7</sup> Khurram, who succeeded as Shah Jehan.

<sup>8</sup> Shahryar.

<sup>9</sup> See note at p. 414.



a thousand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort, of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold, of twenty Tolas<sup>1</sup> a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Tolas, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

*Of Siluer as followeth :*

In primis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteene Cror (enery Cror is an hundred Leckes, and every Lecke an thousand Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Tolas a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie Tolas a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Tolas a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five Tolas a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called Saoy, which is a Tola  $\frac{1}{4}$ , of these there are two Leckes. Of Sagaries, whereof five make sixe Toles, there is one Lecke. More should haue beene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.

*How followeth of his Jewells of all Sorts.*

In primis, Of Diamantes  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Battmann, there be rough, of all sortes and sizes, great and small ; but no lesse than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Caratts. The Battman is fiftie pound waight, which maketh eightie two pounds  $\frac{1}{2}$  weight English. Of Ballace Rubies litle and great, good and bad, there are single two thousand pieces. Of Pearle of all sorts, there are twelue Battmans. Of Rubies of all sorts, there are two Battmans. Of Emeraudes of all sorts, five Battmans. Of Eshime, which stone cometh from Cathaia, one Battman. Of stones of Emen, which is a red stone, there are five thousand pieces. Of all other sorts as Corall, T an infinite number.

Eshime a precious stone coming from Cathaya.

<sup>1</sup> See note at p. 4

*Here followeth of the Jewells wrought in Gold.*

Of Swords of Almaine Blades, with the Hilts and Scabbards set with diuers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of Poniards, there bee two thousand. Of Saddle Drummes, which they vse in their Hawking, of these there are very rich ones of Gold, set with stones, five hundred. Of Brooches for their heads, whereinto their Feathers be put, these be very rich, and of them there are two thousand. Of Saddles of Gold and Siluer set with stones, there are one thousand. Of Teukes there be five and twentie; this is a great Launce couered with Gold, and the Fluke set with stones, and these instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres, of these there are five and twentie. Of Kittasoles<sup>1</sup> of state, for to shaddow him, there bee twentie. None in his Empire dareth in any sort haue any of these carryed for his shadow but himself, of these, I say, there are twentie. Of Chaires of Estate there bee five, to say, three of Siluer, and two of Gold: and of other sorts of Chaires, there bee an hundred of Siluer and Gold, in all an hundred and five. Of rich Glasses, there bee two hundred. Of Vases for Wine very faire and rich, set with Jewels, there are an hundred. Of Drinking Cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made of one piece of Ballace Ruby, and also of Emerods, of Eshim, of Turkish stone, and of other sorts of stones. Of Chaines of Pearle, and Chaines of all sorts of precious stones, and Ringes with Jewels of rich Diamants, Ballast Rubies, Rubies and old Emerods, there is an infinite number, which only the keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of Plate, as Dishes, Cups, Basons, Pots, Beakers of Siluer wrought, there are two thousand Battmans. Of Gold wrought, there are one thousand Battmans.

Eshim  
stones of  
Cathay.

<sup>1</sup> Quitasoles—State umbrellas.

The feast of  
his Birth-  
day.

mented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof: and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March. The other feast is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast of his Birth-day: This day euery man striueth who may be the richest in apparell and Jewels.

See hereof  
Sir Thom.  
Roe.

After many sports and pastimes performed in his Palace, he goeth to his mothers house, with all the better sort of his Nobles, where euery man presenteth a Jewell vnto his Mother, according to his estate. After the bancket is ended, the King goeth into a uery faire roome, where a ballance of beaten Gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in; the other scale being filled with diuers things, that is to say, Siluer, Gold, diuers sorts of Grain a little, and so of euery kind of Mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some: In fine, he weigheth himself with these things, which the next day are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth vnto his mothers house, euery man bringeth him his present, which is thought to be ten times more worth, than that which he giueth to the poore. This done, euery man departeth vnto his home.

His custome is, that when you petition him for any thing, you must not come empty handed, but giue him some toy or other, whether you write or no: by the gift you giue him, he knoweth that you would demand some thing of him: so after enquiry is made, if he seeth it conuenient, he granteth it.

Voluntary  
burning of  
women with  
their dead  
husbands.

The custome of the Indians is to burne their dead, as you haue read in other Authors, and at their burning, many of their Wiues will burne with them: because they will bee registred in their bookes, for famous and most modest and louing Wiues, who leauing all worldly affaires, content themselves to liue no longer then their Husbands. I haue seene many proper Women brought before the King, whom (by

Bestow on his Children what he pleaseth: but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their Fathers Land, diuiding it amongst them; and vnto the eldest Sonne, hee hath a very great respect, who in time receiueth the full title of his Father. There was in my time a great Indian Lord or Prince, a Gentile named Raga Gaginat, <sup>Raga  
nat hi  
wealth</sup> vpon whose goods the Kings seizing after his death, he was found (besides Jewels and other Treasure) to haue sixtie Maunes in Gold, and euery Maune is fve and fiftie pound waight. Also his custome is, that of all sorts of Treasure, excepting Coine, to say of all sorts of Beasts, and all other things of value, a small quantitie is daily brought before him. All things are seuerally diuided into three hundred and sixtie parts, so that hee daily seeth a certaine number, to say, of Elephants, Horses, Camels, Dromedaries, Moyles, Oxen, and all other: as also a certaine quantitie of Jewels and so it continueth all the yeere long: for what is brought him to day is not seene againe, till that day twelue moneth.

He hath three hundred Elephants Royall, which are <sup>Eleph  
Royall</sup> Elephants whereon himselfe rideth: and when they are brought before him, they come with great iollitie, hauing some twentie or thirtie men before them with small Stremers. The Elephants Cloth or Couering is very rich, eyther of Cloth of Gold, or rich Veluet: hee hath following him his shee Elephant, his Whelpe or Whelpes, and foure or fve yong ones, as Pages, which will be in number some sixe, some seuen, and some eight or nine. These Elephants and other Cattell, are dispersed among his Nobles and men of sort to ouer-see them, the King allowing them for their expenses, a certaine quantitie: but some of them will eate a great deale more then their allowance commeth vnto. These Elephants Royall eate tenne Rupias euery day in Sugar, Butter, Graine, and Sugar Canes. These Elephants are the goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall, so

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within the compasse of his snowt, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things are done by Elephants.

He hath also infinite numbers of Dromedaries, which are very swift, to come with great speed, to giue assault to any Citie, as this Kings Father did: so that the enemies thought he had been in Agra, when he was at Amadauar: and he came from Agra thither in nine daies, vpon these Dromedaries, with twelue thousand choyce men, Chan-channa being then his Generall. The day being appointed for the battell, on a suddaine newes came of the Kings arriual, which struck such a present feare into the Guzerats, that at that time they were ouerthrowne and conquered. This King hath diminished his chiefe Captaines, which were Rasbootes,<sup>1</sup> or Gentiles, and naturall Indians, and hath preferred Mahumetans (weak spirited men, void of resolution) in such sort, that what this mans Father, called Ecber Padasha, got of the Decans, this King Selim Sha, beginneth to loose. He hath a few good Captaines yet remaining, whom his father highly esteemed, although they be out of fauor with him, because that vpon his rebellion against his father, they would not assist him, considering his intent was nought: for he meant to haue shortened his Fathers daies, and before his time to haue come to the Crowne. And to that purpose, being in Attabase, the regall seate of a Kingdome called Porub, hee arose with eighty thousand horse, intending to take Agra, and to haue possession of the Treasury, his Father being then at the warres of Decan: who vnderstanding of his Sonnes pretence, left his conquering there, and made hast to come home to saue his owne. Before the Kings departure to the warres, hee gaue order to his Sonne to goe with his Forces vpon Aranna, that great Rebel in Malwa, who comming to parle with this Rebel, he told the Prince, that there was nothing to bee gotten by him but blowes: and it were better for him, now

Dromedaries swift-ness.

From Agra to Amadauar in nine daies.

Selims rebellion.

Or Rabbane.

<sup>1</sup> Rajputs.

His Father was at Basse, to give upon Agre, and pursue himself of his Father's treasure, and make himself King, for there was no man able to resist him. The Prince followed his counsel, and would have prosecuted it, but his Father had before, upon notice being given, presented his purpose: at whose arrival at Agre has presently set upon his Son, that he make choice either to come and sit at his feet, and be at his service to do with him as he pleased, or to fit himself for the battell and fight it out. He well considering the value of his Father, thought it better to submit himself, and to stand to his Father's mercy: who after others showed him and imprisonment, was soon released and pardoned, by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sonnes, and others.

This Selim Bahadur being in rebellion, his father deposed him, and proclaimed him apparent, his eldest Sonne Camur being eldest Sonne to Selim.<sup>2</sup> for his other Sonnes younger Brothers to Selim, were all dead in Basse and Camur: yet shortly after his Father dyed, who in his death-bed had merry on Selim, possessing him againe. But Camur, who was proclaimed heire apparent, summoned his father, and rose with great troopes, yet was not able to move after the loss of many thousand men on both sides. But was taken, and remaineth still in prison in the Kings Palace, yet him self, as all men reporte: and was committed to be hanged by his father. So since that time, being now eight yeares after, he had commanded to put all his children and Nobles to death, with sundry kinds of death: some to be hanged, some spitted, some to have their heads chopped off, and some to bee torne by Elephants. Since which time hee hath reigned in quiet, but ill beloved of the greater part of his Subjects, who stand greatly in love to him. His custome is every yeare to be out two months in hunting, as is before specified. When he

King.

<sup>2</sup> Jehanghir.

meaneth to begin his iourney, if comming forth of his  
 Pallace, hee get vp on a Horse, it is a signe that he goeth  
 for the warres: but if he get vpon an Elephant or Palan-  
 kine, it will bee an hunting voyage. My selfe in the time  
 that I was one of his Courtiers, haue seene many cruell  
 deeds done by him. Fiue times a weeke, he commaundeth  
 his braue Elephants to fight before him: and in the time  
 of their fighting, either comming or going out, many times  
 men are killed, or dangerously hurt by these Elephants.  
 But if any be grievously hurt (which might very well escape)  
 yet neuerlesse that man is cast into the Riuer, himselfe  
 commanding it, saying: dispatch him, for as long as he  
 liueth, he will doe nothing else but curse me, and therfore  
 it is better that he dye presently. I haue seene many in  
 this kind. Againe hee delighteth to see men executed  
 himselfe, and torne in pieces with Elephants. He put  
 to death in my time his Secretary, onely vpon suspicion, that  
 Chan-channa should write vnto the Deccan King, who being  
 sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: where-  
 upon the King not having patience, arose from his seate,  
 and with his sword gaue him his deadly wound, and after-  
 wards deliuered him to bee torne by Elephants.

Likewise, it happened to one who was a great friend of <sup>Seuerity.</sup>  
 mine (a chiefe man, hauing vnder his charge the Kings  
 Wardrobe, and all Woollen Cloath, and all sorts of mercery,  
 and his China dishes) that a faire China dish (which cost  
 ninetie Rupias, or fortie fiue Rials of eight) was broken, in  
 this my friends time, by a mischance (when the King was  
 in his progresse) being packed amongst other things, on a  
 Cammell, which fell and broke all the whole parcell. This  
 Nobleman knowing how dearly the King loued this dish  
 about the rest, presently sent one of his trusty seruants to  
 China-machina, ouer land to seeke for another, hoping that  
 before he should remember the dish, he would returne with  
 another like vnto it: but his euill lucke was contrarie. For

China-  
machina.



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first named Pengab, whereof Lahor is the Chiefe Seate ; the second is Bengala, the Chiefe Seate Sonargham : the third is Malwa, the Chiefe Seate is Ugam :<sup>1</sup> the fourth is Decan, the Chiefe Seate Bramport : the fifth is Guzerat, the Chiefe Seat is Amadauer :<sup>2</sup> The Chiefe Citie or Seat Royall of the Kings of India is called Delly, where hee is established King : and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier,<sup>3</sup> Neruer, Ratambore, Hassier, Roughtaz. In euery one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu<sup>4</sup> in Decan : in Guzerat, the Sonne of Muzafer, that was King, his name is Bahador of Malwa, Raga Rahana. His Sonnes be five, to say, Sultan Coussero,<sup>5</sup> Sultan Peruis,<sup>6</sup> Sultan Choreu,<sup>7</sup> Sultan Shariar,<sup>8</sup> and Sultan Bath. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wiues, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu, Daughter to Kaime Chan : the second is called Noore Mahal, the Daughter of Gais Bijge :<sup>9</sup> the third is the Daughter of Seinchuan : the fourth is the Daughter of Hakim Hamann, who was Brother to his Father Ecber Padasha.

*His Treasure is as followeth : The first is his seuerall Coine of Gold.*

In primis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckis. Of another sort of Coyne, of

<sup>1</sup> Ujain.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmedabad.

<sup>3</sup> Gwalior.

<sup>4</sup> Malik Amber, the famous Minister of Ahmadnagar.

<sup>5</sup> Khuzru, who rebelled and passed the rest of his life in captivity.

<sup>6</sup> Parwiz, a drunkard.

<sup>7</sup> Khurram, who succeeded as Shah Jehan.

<sup>8</sup> Shahryar.

<sup>9</sup> See note at p. 414.

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# **The Hakluyt Society.**

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REPORT FOR 1878.



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## REPORT FOR 1878.

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THE Hakluyt Society has to mourn the loss of its President, Sir David Dundas, who held that post for six-and-a-half years.

Sir David Dundas was the eldest surviving son of Robert Dundas, Esq., of Ochtertyre, in Perthshire. Born in 1799, he was a Queen's Scholar at Westminster, whence he was elected off as a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated M.A. in 1822. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple on February 7th, 1823, and went the Northern Circuit. In April 1840, he was appointed a Queen's Counsel, Solicitor-General on July 10th, 1846, and was knighted on February 4th, 1847. He resigned the office of Solicitor-General in March 1848, and was Judge-Advocate General from May 19th, 1849, until 1852. On June 29th, 1849, Sir David Dundas was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1840, he was elected Member of Parliament for Sutherlandshire, which seat he held until 1852, and again from May 1861, until May 1867. He was also a Trustee of the British Museum.

Sir David was an active Member of the Hakluyt Society from its foundation. He presided at a meeting of the Council on the 15th of November, 1853, for the first time, and was ever afterwards a constant attendant, presiding at twenty-eight of the meetings. He never edited a volume for the Society, but was ever ready with advice and assistance, sparing no trouble in making researches; while his fine

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

# The Hakluyt Society.

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REPORT FOR 1878.

library, which contained many works bearing on the Society's objects, was always at the service of editors. His great knowledge of books relating to early voyages and travels rendered his services as a Member of the Council invaluable. On June 3rd, 1868, Sir David Dundas succeeded the Marquis of Lansdowne as one of the Vice-Presidents; and, after the lamented death of Sir Roderick Murchison, who had presided since the foundation of the Society in 1847, Sir David was unanimously elected to be the second President of the Hakluyt Society, on the 20th of November 1871. He continued to fulfil the duties of that post until his death on the 30th of March 1877, and his sound practical judgment, as well as his fund of useful and interesting information, made his presence always most acceptable. The last time he attended a meeting of the Council was a very few days before his decease, namely, on the 13th of March 1877.

Since the last Report, in 1874, the Society has lost several other active and useful Members. Among these are Rear-Admiral Sherard Osborn, C.B., Commodore J. G. Goodenough, R.N., C.B., C.M.G., The Hon. Frederick Walpole, M.P., Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart., the Earl of Sheffield, and the Bishop of St. Davids.

On the 19th of June 1877, Colonel Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., was unanimously elected to be the third President of the Hakluyt Society.

Since the last Report in 1874, the following volumes have been issued to Members:—

I. THE FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD BY MAGELLAN. Translated from the Accounts of Pigafetta and other contemporary writers, accompanied by original documents, with notes and an introduction, by Lord Stanley of Alderley.

II. THE CAPTIVITY OF HANS STADE OF HESSE, IN A.D. 1547-1555, AMONG THE WILD TRIBES OF EASTERN BRAZIL. Translated by Alfred Tootal, Esq., of Rio de Janeiro, and annotated by Richard F. Burton.

*Statement of the Accounts of the Society from Jan. 1874, to Feb. 1876.*

Balance at the Bankers at the last Audit .....	£586 13 11	Mr. Richards for Printing ....	£241 6 6
Received by Bankers, Jan. 1874, to Jan. 1876 .....	835 17 0	Mr. Weller for Maps .....	38 14 11
		Mr. Saunders for a Map .....	31 2 6
		Mr. Prætorius for Photo-lithography .....	13 13 0
		Mr. Coote for Transcriptions ..	9 0 4
		Mr. Baynes for Translations ..	4 14 9
		Mr. Dalziel for Wood-engraving	15 6 0
		Messrs. Spencer for Photo-lithography .....	20 3 0
		Mr. Handcock for Calendaring	
		E. I. Log Books .....	10 10 0
		Wymans & Sons for Lithography	7 15 6
		Mr. Quaritch. Purchase of a Society's volume out of print	3 3 0
		Stamps .....	0 5 0
			<hr/>
		Balance at the Bankers....	794 13 6
			637 17 5
			<hr/>
	£1,422 10 11		£1,422 10 11

Examined and approved, *March 18th, 1878.*

LINDESAY BRINE,  
A. H. MARKHAM.

*Statement of the Accounts of the Society from Feb. 1876, to May 1877.*

Balance left at the Bankers (Feb. 1876) .....	£637 17 5	Mr. Richards for Printing ....	£2393 17 6
Received by Bankers, Feb. 1876, to May 1877 .....	440 5 0	Mr. Handcock for Calendaring	
		E. I. Log Books .....	48 4 0
		Mr. Prætorius .....	53 16 0
		Mr. W. R. Wilson—Index.....	5 0 0
		Petty Cash .....	5 0 0
		The Autotype Company.....	14 9 8
			<hr/>
		Balance at the Bankers ....	433 7 2
			654 15 3
			<hr/>
	£1,077 2 5		£1,077 2 5

Examined and approved, *March 18th, 1878.*

LINDESAY BRINE,  
A. H. MARKHAM.



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*Statement of the Accounts of the Society from Jan. 1874, to Feb. 1876.*

Balance at the Bankers at the last Audit .....	£506 13 11	Mr. Richards for Printing ....	£2641 6 6
Received by Bankers, Jan. 1874, to Jan. 1876 .....	835 17 0	Mr. Weller for Maps .....	38 14 11
		Mr. Saunders for a Map .....	31 2 6
		Mr. Prætorius for Photo-lithography .....	12 12 0
		Mr. Coote for Transcriptions ..	9 0 4
		Mr. Baynes for Translations ..	4 14 9
		Mr. Dalziel for Wood-engraving	15 6 0
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*Statement of the Accounts of the Society from Feb. 1876, to May 1877.*

Balance left at the Bankers (Feb. 1876) .....	£637 17 5	Mr. Richards for Printing ....	£2393 17 6
Received by Bankers, Feb. 1876, to May 1877 .....	449 5 0	Mr. Handcock for Calendaring	
		E. I. Log Books .....	46 4 0
		Mr. Prætorius .....	53 16 0
		Mr. W. R. Wilson—Index .....	5 0 0
		Petty Cash .....	5 0 0
		The Autotype Company .....	14 9 8
			423 7 2
		Balance at the Bankers ....	654 15 3
			£1,077 2 5
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